# CICERONIS

# EPISTOLARUM DELECTUS.

## *Literary Notice.*

'The peculiarity of this Selection is that all the letters have some bearing on the public events of CICERO's life. The letters are extremely interesting in themselves, and are invaluable as throwing light on the movements of the great public men in the most important period of Roman history. Mr. PARRY conceived the idea of making a selection which should be at once pleasant reading and serve as a text-book for the history of the period: an exceedingly good idea, and carried out successfully. . . . . . We trust Mr. PARRY's work will receive a warm reception. It is of great consequence that pupils should be taught to read Latin writers for the sake of their matter; and Mr. PARRY's volume is eminently fitted to awaken the interest and gratify the curiosity of intelligent scholars.'

*The* MUSEUM, March 1867.

Elisha Jones

# CICERONIS

# EPISTOLARUM DELECTUS:

A SELECTION FROM CICERO'S LETTERS

ILLUSTRATING

THE CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF ROME.

*WITH NOTES AND INTRODUCTIONS.*

BY

E. ST. JOHN PARRY, M.A.

OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD:

AUTHOR OF 'REGES ET HEROES' AND 'ORIGINES ROMANÆ,' AND EDITOR OF TERENCE IN THE BIBLIOTHECA CLASSICA.

'Quas (Ciceronis Epistolas) qui legit non multum desiderat historiam contextam illorum temporum.' CORN. NEP. *Att.* xvi.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1868.

LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

# PREFACE

TO

## THE SECOND EDITION.

IN THIS EDITION I have altered the dates, so as to bring the Chronology into conformity with the usual reckoning.

DURDHAM DOWN, BRISTOL:
*March* 25, 1868.

# PREFACE.

THE FOLLOWING SELECTION of Cicero's Letters will be found to differ from others that have preceded it in this respect—that all the letters selected have some bearing on the public events of Cicero's life. I have accordingly omitted many interesting letters to be found in most collections, either as repeating matter already given, or as containing mere personal and domestic history. It has been my object to place before the reader, as far as can be gathered from the unfortunately incomplete collection of Cicero's correspondence, a connected series of letters bearing on the great political crisis of the years A.U.C. 688—710. The breaks that occur in the correspondence are filled by introductions to the several letters, and more especially to the great divisions into which they naturally fall. I have also endeavoured to smooth the difficulties which attend the chronology of the later periods of this correspondence by Tables of Dates prefixed to Letters XLVII. and LXXXVI. These tables are not so complete as I should wish; but the defect will be readily forgiven by those who have attempted a similar task. I shall welcome any corrections or additions of scholars which may make my work more complete in this and in other respects.

Throughout it is assumed that the student of these letters has some good history to refer to; for without a competent knowledge of the history of the later republic, the reader will find the letters of Cicero unintelligible. I have referred to Merivale's works—the standard books on this subject—to the

fourth volume of Mommsen's 'History of Rome,'* and to the admirable work of Abeken on 'Cicero's Life and Letters' (edited by Merivale), a book that seems not to be nearly as well known as it deserves to be.

Of editions I am chiefly indebted to Schütz's chronological edition of the whole of Cicero's letters, to the selections by Aug. Matthiae (Lips. 1849), by Karl. F. Süpfle (Karlsruhe, 1849), and by Friedrich Hoffmann, vol. i. (in Haupt and Sauppe's series), which stops short with the year 706. (Letter LXV. of this edition.)

I have confined myself generally to historical illustrations of the text, and explanations of the more difficult passages. I trust that no real difficulty has been passed over, although I have not given information which can be readily found in the dictionaries. Grammatical questions have been omitted purposely. Boys in the highest classes of schools, and university men, will not find many that they cannot solve for themselves; and every good master will be able to help his scholars as well as I could, or better.

I am not without hopes that this book will be found useful, not only as a specimen of Cicero's most natural and graceful style, but as a text-book for the history of the most stirring period of the Roman republic, and also a good introduction to the study of the poets of the Augustan age.

E. ST. JOHN PARRY.

* I cannot mention this book without acknowledging the great courtesy of the Translator in supplying me with the sheets as they passed through the press, and thus enabling me to anticipate by some months my acquaintance with the striking and original views of the author.

# CICERONIS

# EPISTOLARUM DELECTUS.

## EPISTOLA I.

(Romae A.U.C. 689.)

### M. CICERO S. D. ATTICO.

1. Petitionis nostrae, quam tibi summae curae esse scio, huiusmodi ratio est, quod adhuc coniectura provideri possit. Prensat unus P. Galba. Sine fuco ac fallaciis more maiorum negatur. Ut opinio est hominum, non aliena rationi nostrae fuit illius haec praepropera prensatio. Nam illi ita negant vulgo, ut mihi se debere dicant. Ita quiddam spero nobis profici, quum hoc precrebrescit, plurimos nostros amicos inveniri. Nos autem initium prensandi facere cogitaramus eo ipso die, quo puerum tuum cum his litteris proficisci Cincius dicebat, in campo, comitiis tribuniciis, a. d. XVI. Kalend. Sext. Competitores, qui certi esse videantur, Galba et Antonius et Q. Cornificius. Puto te in hoc aut risisse aut ingemuisse, ut frontem ferias. Sunt, qui etiam Caesonium putent. Aquillium non arbitramur, qui denegat et iuravit morbum et illud suum regnum iudiciale opposuit. Catilina, si iudicatum erit, meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor. De Aufidio et Palicano non puto te exspectare dum scribam. 2. De his, qui nunc petunt, Caesar certus putatur. Thermus cum Silano contendere existimatur; qui sic inopes et ab amicis et existimatione sunt, ut mihi videatur non esse *ἀδύνατον*, Curium obducere. Sed hoc praeter me

nemini videtur. Nostris rationibus maxime conducere videtur, Thermum fieri cum Caesare. Nemo est enim ex his, qui nunc petunt, qui, si in nostrum annum reciderit, firmior candidatus fore videatur; propterea quod procurator est viae Flaminiae. Quae quum erit absoluta, sane facile et libenter tunc ceteri consuli accesserint. † Petitorum haec est informata adhuc cogitatio. Nos in omni munere candidatorio fungendo summam adhibebimus diligentiam: et fortasse, quoniam videtur in suffragiis multum posse Gallia, quum Romae a iudiciis forum refrixerit, excurremus mense Septembri legati ad Pisonem, ut Ianuario revertamur. Quum perspexero voluntates nobilium, scribam ad te. Cetera spero prolixa esse, his dumtaxat competitoribus urbanis. Illam manum tu mihi cura ut praestes, quoniam propius abes, Pompeii, nostri amici. Nega me ei iratum fore, si ad mea comitia non venerit. Atque haec huiusmodi sunt. 3. Sed est, quod abs te mihi ignosci pervelim. Caecilius, avunculus tuus, a P. Vario quum magna pecunia fraudaretur, agere coepit cum eius fratre Caninio Satrio de iis rebus, quas eum dolo malo mancipio accepisse de Vario diceret. Una agebant ceteri creditores, in quibus erat Lucullus et P. Scipio et is, quem putabant magistrum fore, si bona venirent, L. Pontius. [Verum hoc ridiculum est, de magistro nunc cognoscere.] Rogavit me Caecilius, ut adessem contra Satrium. Dies fere nullus est, quin hic Satrius domum meam ventitet. Observat L. Domitium maxime: me habet proximum. Fuit et mihi et Q. fratri magno usui in nostris petitionibus. 4. Sane sum perturbatus, quum ipsius Satrii familiaritate, tum Domitii, in quo uno maxime ambitio nostra nititur. Demonstravi haec Caecilio: simul et illud ostendi, si ipse unus cum illo uno contenderet, me ei satisfacturum fuisse: nunc in caussa universorum creditorum, hominum praesertim amplissimorum, qui sine eo, quem Caecilius suo nomine perhiberet, facile communem caussam sustinerent, aequum esse, eum et officio meo consulere et tempori. Durius accipere hoc mihi visus est, quam vellem, et quam homines belli solent; et postea prorsus ab instituta nostra paucorum dierum consuetudine longe refugit. Abs te peto, ut mihi hoc ignoscas, et me existimes humanitate esse prohibitum, ne contra amici summam existimationem miserrimo eius tempore venirem, quum is omnia sua studia et officia in me contulisset. Quod

si voles in me esse durior, ambitionem mihi putabis obstitisse. Ego autem arbitror, etiamsi id sit, mihi ignoscendum esse: *ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερήϊον, οὐδὲ βοείην.* Vides enim, in quo cursu simus, et quam omnes gratias non modo retinendas, verum etiam acquirendas putemus. Spero tibi me caussam probasse; cupio quidem certe. 5. Hermathena tua valde me delectat, et posita ita belle est, ut totum gymnasium *ἡλίου ἀνάθημα* esse videatur. Multum te amamus. (*Ad Att.* I. i.)

## EPISTOLA II.

(Romae, 692.)

### M. T. M. F. CICERO S. D. CN. POMPEIO, CN. F. MAGNO, IMPERATORI.

1. S. T. E. Q. V. B. E. E. V. Ex litteris tuis, quas publice misisti, cepi una cum omnibus incredibilem voluptatem. Tantam enim spem otii ostendisti, quantam ego semper omnibus te uno fretus pollicebar. Sed hoc scito, tuos veteres hostes, novos amicos, vehementer litteris perculsos atque ex magna spe deturbatos iacere. 2. Ad me autem litteras quas misisti, quamquam exiguam significationem tuae erga me voluntatis habebant, tamen mihi scito iucundas fuisse: nulla enim re tam laetari soleo, quam meorum officiorum conscientia, quibus si quando non mutuo respondetur, apud me plus officii residere facillime patior. Illud non dubito, quin si te mea summa erga te studia parum mihi adiunxerint, respublica nos inter nos conciliatura coniuncturaque sit. 3. Ac, ne ignores, quid ego in tuis litteris desiderarim: scribam aperte, sicut et mea natura et nostra amicitia postulat. Res eas gessi, quarum aliquam in tuis litteris et nostrae necessitudinis et reipublicae caussa gratulationem exspectavi: quam ego abs te praetermissam esse arbitror, quod vererere, ne cuius animum offenderes. Sed scito, ea, quae nos pro salute patriae gessimus, orbis terrae iudicio ac testimonio comprobari. Quae, quum veneris, tanto consilio tantaque animi magnitudine a me gesta esse cognosces, ut tibi, multo maiori, quam Africanus fuit, me, non multo minorem, quam Laelium, facile et in republica et in amicitia adiunctum esse patiare. [Vale.] (*Ad Div.* V. vii.)

## EPISTOLA III.

(Romae, A.U.C. 693.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Vereor, ne putidum sit scribere ad te, quam sim occupatus: sed tamen distinebar, ut huic vix tantulae epistolae tempus habuerim, atque id ereptum e summis occupationibus. Prima concio Pompeii qualis fuisset, scripsi ad te antea, non iucunda miseris, inanis improbis, beatis non grata, bonis non gravis: itaque frigebat. Tum Pisonis consulis impulsu levissimus tribunus plebis Fufius in concionem produxit Pompeium. Res agebatur in circo Flaminio, et erat in eo ipso loco illo die nundinarum πανήγυρις. Quaesivit ex eo, placeretne ei, iudices a praetore legi, quo consilio idem praetor uteretur. Id autem erat de Clodiana religione ab senatu constitutum. 2. Tum Pompeius μάλ' ἀριστοκρατικῶς locutus est, senatusque auctoritatem sibi omnibus in rebus maximam videri semperque visam esse respondit et id multis verbis. Postea Messalla consul in senatu de Pompeio quaesivit, quid de religione et de promulgata rogatione sentiret. Locutus ita est in senatu, ut omnia illius ordinis consulta γενικῶς laudaret: mihique, ut assedit, dixit se putare satis ab se etiam de istius rebus esse responsum. 3. Crassus posteaquam vidit, illum excepisse laudem ex eo, quod suspicarentur homines, ei consulatum meum placere, surrexit, ornatissimeque de meo consulatu locutus est; ut ita diceret, se, quod esset senator, quod civis, quod liber, quod viveret, mihi acceptum referre; quoties coniugem, quoties domum, quoties patriam videret, toties se beneficium meum videre. Quid multa? totum hunc locum, quem ego varie meis orationibus, quarum tu Aristarchus es, soleo pingere, de flamma, de ferro, (nosti illas ληκύθους,) valde graviter pertexuit. Proxime Pompeium sedebam. Intellexi hominem moveri, utrum Crassum inire eam gratiam, quam ipse praetermisisset, an esse tantas res nostras, quae tam libenti senatu laudarentur, ab eo praesertim, qui mihi laudem illam eo minus deberet, quod meis omnibus litteris in Pompeiana laude perstrictus esset. 4. Hic dies me valde Crasso adiunxit; et tamen ab illo aperte, tecte quidquid est datum, libenter accepi. Ego autem ipse, dii boni! quod modo ἐνεπερπερευσάμην novo auditori Pompeio! Si umquam

mihi περίοδοι ἢ καμπαὶ ἢ ἐνθυμήματα ἢ κατασκευαί suppeditaverunt, illo tempore. Quid multa? clamores. Etenim haec erat ὑπόθεσις, de gravitate ordinis, de equestri concordia, de consensione Italiae, de intermortuis reliquiis coniurationis, de vilitate, de otio. Nosti iam in hac materia sonitus nostros: tanti fuerunt, ut ego eo brevior sim, quod eos usque istim exauditos putem. 5. Romanae autem se res sic habent: senatus ἄρειος πάγος. Nihil constantius, nihil severius, nihil fortius. Nam quum dies venisset rogationi ex senatus consulto ferendae, concursabant barbatuli iuvenes, totus ille grex Catilinae, duce filiola Curionis, et populum, ut antiquaret, rogabant. Piso autem consul, lator rogationis, idem erat dissuasor. Operae Clodianae pontes occuparant. Tabellae ministrabantur ita, ut nulla daretur UTI ROGAS. Hic tibi rostra Cato advolat, convicium Pisoni consuli mirificum facit; si id est convicium, vox plena gravitatis, plena auctoritatis, plena denique salutis. Accedit eodem etiam noster Hortensius, multi praeterea boni: insignis vero opera Favonii fuit. Hoc concursu optimatum comitia dimittuntur: senatus vocatur. Quum decerneretur frequenti senatu, contra pugnante Pisone, ad pedes omnium singillatim accidente Clodio, ut consules populum cohortarentur ad rogationem accipiendam; homines ad xv Curioni, nullum senatus consultum facienti, assenserunt: ex altera parte facile cccc fuerunt. Acta res est. Fufius tribunus tum concessit. Clodius conciones miseras habebat, in quibus Lucullum, Hortensium, C. Pisonem, Messallam consulem contumeliose laedebat: me tantum comperisse omnia criminabatur. Senatus et de provinciis praetorum et de legationibus et de ceteris rebus decernebat, ut ante, quam rogatio lata esset, ne quid ageretur. 6. Habes res Romanas: sed tamen etiam illud, quod non speraram, audi. Messalla consul est egregius, fortis, constans, diligens, nostri laudator, amator, imitator. Ille alter uno vitio minus vitiosus; quod iners, quod somni plenus, quod imperitus, quod ἀπρακτότατος, sed voluntate ita καχέκτης, ut Pompeium post illam concionem, in qua ab eo senatus laudatus est, odisse coeperit. Itaque mirum in modum omnes a se bonos alienavit. Neque id magis amicitia Clodii adductus facit, quam studio perditarum rerum atque partium. Sed habet sui similem in magistratibus praeter Fufium neminem. Bonis utimur tribunis plebis, Cornuto vero Pseudocatone. Quid

quaeris? 7. Nunc ut ad privata redeam: Τεῦκρις promissa patravit. Tu mandata effice, quae recepisti. Quintus frater, qui Argiletani aedificii reliquum dodrantem emit H-S DCCXXV, Tusculanum venditat, ut, si possit, emat Pacilianam domum. Cum Lucceio in gratiam redi. Video hominem valde petiturire. Navabo operam. Tu, quid agas, ubi sis, cuiusmodi istae res sint, fac me quam diligentissime certiorem. Idibus Febr. (*Ad Att.* I. xiv.)

## EPISTOLA IV.

(Romae, A.U.C. 693.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Quaeris ex me, quid acciderit de iudicio, quod tam praeter opinionem omnium factum sit: et simul vis scire, quo modo ego minus, quam soleam, praeliatus sim: respondebo tibi *ὕστερον πρότερον, Ὁμηρικῶς*. Ego enim, quam diu senatus auctoritas mihi defendenda fuit, sic acriter et vehementer praeliatus sum, ut clamor concursusque maxima cum mea laude fierent. Quod si tibi umquam sum visus in republica fortis, certe me in illa caussa admiratus esses. Quum enim ille ad conciones confugisset, in iisque meo nomine ad invidiam uteretur; dii immortales! quas ego pugnas et quantas strages edidi! quos impetus in Pisonem, in Curionem, in totam illam manum feci! quo modo sum insectatus levitatem senum, libidinem iuventutis! Saepe, ita me dii iuvent! te non solum auctorem consiliorum meorum, verum etiam spectatorem pugnarum mirificarum desideravi. 2. Postea vero quam Hortensius excogitavit, ut legem de religione Fufius tribunus plebis ferret; in qua nihil aliud a consulari rogatione differebat, nisi iudicum genus; (in eo autem erant omnia;) pugnavitque, ut ita fieret: quod et sibi et aliis persuaserat, nullis illum iudicibus effugere posse: contraxi vela, perspiciens inopiam iudicum, neque dixi quidquam pro testimonio, nisi quod erat ita notum atque testatum, ut non possem praeterire. Itaque, si caussam quaeris absolutionis, (ut iam *πρὸς τὸ πρότερον* revertar,) egestas iudicum fuit et turpitudo. Id autem ut accideret, commissum est Hortensii consilio, qui dum veritus est, ne Fufius ei legi intercederet, quae ex senatus consulto ferebatur, non vidit illud satius esse, illum in infamia

relinqui ac sordibus, quam infirmo iudicio committi. Sed ductus odio properavit rem deducere in iudicium, quum illum plumbeo gladio iugulatum iri tamen diceret. 3. Sed iudicium si quaeris quale fuerit: incredibili exitu; sic, uti nunc ex eventu ab aliis, a me tamen ex ipso initio consilium Hortensii reprehendatur. Nam ut reiectio facta est clamoribus maximis, quum accusator, tamquam censor bonus, homines nequissimos reiiceret, reus tamquam clemens lanista frugalissimum quemque secerneret; ut primum iudices consederunt, valde diffidere boni coeperunt. Non enim umquam turpior in ludo talario consessus fuit. Maculosi senatores, nudi equites, tribuni non tam aerati, quam, ut appellantur, aerarii. Pauci tamen boni inerant, quos reiectione fugare ille non potuerat, qui maesti inter sui dissimiles et maerentes sedebant et contagione turpitudinis vehementer permovebantur. 4. Hic, ut quaeque res ad consilium primis postulationibus referebatur, incredibilis erat severitas nulla varietate sententiarum; nihil impetrarat reus; plus accusatori dabatur, quam postulabat; triumphabat (quid quaeris?) Hortensius, se vidisse tantum: nemo erat, qui illum reum ac non millies condemnatum arbitraretur. Me vero teste producto, credo te, ex acclamatione Clodii advocatorum, audisse, quae consurrectio iudicum facta sit, ut me circumsteterint, ut aperte iugula sua pro meo capite P. Clodio ostentarint. Quae mihi res multo honorificentior visa est, quam aut illa, quum iurare tui cives Xenocratem testimonium dicentem prohibuerunt; aut quum tabulas Metelli Numidici, quum hae, ut mos est, circumferrentur, nostri iudices aspicere noluerunt; multo haec, inquam, nostra res maior. 5. Itaque iudicum vocibus, quum ego sic ab iis, ut salus patriae, defenderer, fractus reus et una patroni omnes conciderunt. Ad me autem eadem frequentia postridie convenit, quacum abiens consulatu sum domum reductus. Clamare praeclari Areopagitae, se non esse venturos, nisi praesidio constituto. Refertur ad consilium; una sola sententia praesidium non desideravit. Defertur res ad senatum; gravissime ornatissimeque decernitur; laudantur iudices; datur negotium magistratibus; responsurum hominem nemo arbitrabatur.

> Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι,—
> ὅππως δὴ πρῶτον πῦρ ἔμπεσε.

Nosti Calvum, ex Nanneianis illum, illum laudatorem meum,

de cuius oratione erga me honorifica ad te scripseram. Biduo per unum servum, et eum ex gladiatorio ludo, confecit totum negotium; arcessivit ad se, promisit, intercessit, dedit. Iam vero (o dii boni! rem perditam!) etiam gratia certarum mulierum, atque adolescentulorum nobilium introductiones nonnullis iudicibus pro mercedis cumulo fuerunt. Ita, summo discessu bonorum, pleno foro servorum, XXV iudices ita fortes tamen fuerunt, ut, summo proposito periculo, vel perire maluerint, quam perdere omnia; XXXI fuerunt, quos fames magis quam fama commoverit. Quorum Catulus quum vidisset quemdam, Quid vos, inquit, praesidium a nobis postulabatis? an, ne nummi vobis eriperentur, timebatis? 6. Habes, ut brevissime potui, genus iudicii et caussam absolutionis. Quaeris deinceps, qui nunc sit status rerum et qui meus. Reipublicae statum illum, quem tu meo consilio, ego divino confirmatum putabam, qui bonorum omnium coniunctione et auctoritate consulatus mei fixus et fundatus videbatur, nisi qui nos deus respexerit, elapsum scito esse de manibus uno hoc iudicio: si iudicium est, triginta homines populi Romani levissimos ac nequissimos, nummulis acceptis, ius ac fas omne delere, et, quod omnes non modo homines, verum etiam pecudes factum esse sciant, id Talnam et Plautum et Spongiam et ceteras huiusmodi quisquilias statuere numquam esse factum. 7. Sed tamen, ut te de republica consoler, non ita, ut sperarunt mali, tanto imposito reipublicae vulnere, alacris exsultat improbitas in victoria. Nam plane ita putaverunt, quum religio, quum pudicitia, quum iudiciorum fides, quum senatus auctoritas concidisset, fore, ut aperte victrix nequitia ac libido poenas ab optimo quoque peteret sui doloris, quem improbissimo cuique inusserat severitas consulatus mei. 8. Idem ego ille, (non enim mihi videor insolenter gloriari, quum de me apud te loquor, in ea praesertim epistola, quam nolo aliis legi:) idem, inquam, ego recreavi afflictos animos bonorum, unum quemque confirmans, excitans; insectandis vero exagitandisque nummariis iudicibus, omnem omnibus studiosis ac fautoribus illius victoriae παῤῥησίαν eripui; Pisonem consulem nulla in re consistere umquam sum passus; desponsam homini iam Syriam ademi; senatum ad pristinam suam severitatem revocavi atque abiectum excitavi: Clodium praesentem fregi in senatu, quum oratione perpetua, plenissima gravitatis, tum

altercatione eiusmodi, ex qua licet pauca degustes. Nam cetera non possunt habere neque vim neque venustatem, remoto illo studio contentionis, quem ἀγῶνα vos appellatis. 9. Nam, ut Idib. Maii in senatum convenimus, rogatus ego sententiam, multa dixi de summa republica, atque ille locus inductus a me est divinitus: ne, una plaga accepta, patres conscripti conciderent, ne deficerent: vulnus esse eiusmodi, quod mihi nec dissimulandum, nec pertimescendum videretur: ne aut metuendo ignavissimi, aut ignorando stultissimi iudicaremur: bis absolutum esse Lentulum, bis Catilinam: hunc tertium iam esse a iudicibus in rempublicam immissum. Erras, Clodi: non te iudices Urbi, sed carceri reservarunt, neque te retinere in civitate, sed exsilio privare voluerunt. Quamobrem, patres conscripti, erigite animos, retinete vestram dignitatem. Manet illa in republica bonorum consensio; dolor accessit bonis viris, virtus non est imminuta; nihil est damni factum novi: sed, quod erat, inventum est. In unius hominis perditi iudicio plures similes reperti sunt. 10. Sed quid ago? paene orationem in epistolam inclusi. Redeo ad altercationem. Surgit pulchellus puer: obiicit mihi, *me ad Baias fuisse.*—Falsum: sed tamen quid hoc? Simile est, inquam, quasi dicas in operto fuisse.—*Quid*, inquit, *homini Arpinati cum aquis caldis?*—Narra, inquam, patrono tuo, qui Arpinatis aquas concupivit: nosti enim Marianas.—*Quousque*, inquit, *hunc regem feremus?* —Regem appellas, inquam, quum Rex tui mentionem nullam fecerit?—(Ille autem Regis hereditatem spe devorarat.)—*Domum*, inquit, *emisti.*—Potes, inquam, dicere, iudices emisti?—*Iuranti*, inquit, *tibi non crediderunt.*—Mihi vero, inquam, xxv iudices crediderunt; xxxi, quoniam nummos ante acceperunt, tibi nihil crediderunt. Magnis clamoribus afflictus conticuit et concidit. 11. Noster autem status est hic: apud bonos iidem sumus, quos reliquisti; apud sordem Urbis et faecem multo melius nunc, quam reliquisti. Nam et illud nobis non obest, videri nostrum testimonium non valuisse. Missus est sanguis invidiae sine dolore; atque etiam hoc magis, quod omnes illi fautores illius flagitii rem manifestam illam redemptam esse a iudicibus confitentur:— accedit, quod illa concionalis hirudo aerarii, misera ac ieiuna plebecula, me ab hoc Magno unice diligi putat: et hercule multa et iucunda consuetudine con-

iuncti inter nos sumus, usque eo, ut nostri isti comissatores coniurationis, barbatuli iuvenes, illum in sermonibus Cnaeum Ciceronem appellent. Itaque et ludis et gladiatoribus mirandas ἐπισημασίας sine ulla pastoricia fistula auferebamus. 12. Nunc est exspectatio ingens comitiorum, in quae omnibus invitis trudit noster Magnus Auli filium, atque in eo neque auctoritate, neque gratia pugnat, sed quibus Philippus omnia castella expugnari posse dicebat, in quae modo asellus onustus auro posset ascendere. Consul autem ille, Doterionis histrionis similis, suscepisse negotium dicitur et domi divisores habere: quod ego non credo. Sed senatus consulta duo iam facta sunt; odiosa, quod in consulem facta putantur, Catone et Domitio postulante; unum, ut apud magistratus inquiri liceret; alterum, cuius modi divisores haberent adversus rempublicam. 13. Lurco autem tribunus plebis, qui magistratum simul cum lege Aelia iniit, solutus est et Aelia et Fufia, ut legem de ambitu ferret; quam ille bono auspicio claudus homo promulgavit. Ita comitia in ante diem VI. Kal. Sext. dilata sunt. Novi est in lege hoc, ut, qui nummos in tribus pronuntiarit, si non dederit, impune sit; sin dederit, ut, quoad vivat, singulis tribubus H-S CIƆ CIƆ CIƆ debeat. Dixi hanc legem P. Clodium iam ante servasse; pronuntiare enim solitum esse, et non dare. Sed heus tu! videsne, consulatum illum nostrum, quem Curio antea ἀποθέωσιν vocabat, si hic factus erit, fama imum futurum? quare, ut opinor, φιλοσοφητέον id quod tu facis, et istos consulatus non flocci facteon. 14. Quod ad me scribis, te in Asiam statuisse non ire; equidem mallem, ut ires: ac vereor, ne quid in ista re minus commode fiat. Sed tamen non possum reprehendere consilium tuum, praesertim quum egomet in provinciam non sim profectus. 15. Epigrammatis tuis, quae in Amaltheo posuisti, contenti erimus, praesertim quum et Chilius nos reliquerit, et Archias nihil de me scripserit; ac vereor, ne, Lucullis quoniam Graecum poema condidit, nunc ad Caecilianam fabulam spectet. 16. Antonio tuo nomine gratias egi; eamque epistolam Manlio dedi. Ad te ideo antea rarius scripsi, quod non habebam idoneum, cui darem; nec satis sciebam, quo darem. Valde te venditavi. 17. Cincius si quid ad me tui negotii detulerit, suscipiam. Sed nunc magis in suo est occupatus; in quo ego ei non desum. Tu, si uno in loco es futurus, crebras a nobis lit-

teras exspecta; ast plures etiam ipse mittito. 18. Velim, ad me scribas, cuiusmodi sit Ἀμαλθεῖον tuum, quo ornatu, qua τοποθεσία: et quae poemata, quasque historias de Ἀμαλθείᾳ habes, ad me mittas. Lubet mihi facere in Arpinati. Ego tibi aliquid de meis scriptis mittam. Nihil erat absoluti. (*Ad Att.* I. xvi.)

## EPISTOLA V.

(Romae, A.U.C. 694.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Non modo, si mihi tantum esset otii, quantum est tibi, verum etiam, si tam breves epistolas vellem mittere, quam tu soles facere, te superarem, et in scribendo multo essem crebrior, quam tu; sed ad summas atque incredibiles occupationes meas accedit, quod nullam a me epistolam ad te sino absque argumento ac sententia pervenire. Et primum tibi, ut aequum est, civi amanti patriam, quae sunt in republica, exponam: deinde, quoniam tibi amore nos proximi sumus, scribemus etiam de nobis ea, quae scire te non nolle arbitramur. 2. Atque in republica nunc quidem maxime Gallici belli versatur metus. Nam Aedui, fratres nostri, pugnant; Sequani permale pugnarunt; et Helvetii sine dubio sunt in armis, excursionesque in provinciam faciunt. Senatus decrevit, ut consules duas Gallias sortirentur, delectus haberetur, vacationes ne valerent, legati cum auctoritate mitterentur, qui adirent Galliae civitates, darentque operam ne eae cum Helvetiis se iungerent. Legati sunt Q. Metellus Creticus et L. Flaccus, et, τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον, Lentulus Clodiani filius. 3. Atque hoc loco illud non queo praeterire, quod, quum de consularibus mea prima sors exisset, una voce senatus frequens retinendum me in Urbe censuit. Hoc idem post me Pompeio accidit; ut nos duo, quasi pignora reipublicae, retineri videremur. Quid enim ego aliorum in me ἐπιφωνήματα exspectem, quum haec domi nascantur? 4. Urbanae autem res sic se habent. Agraria lex a Flavio tribuno plebis vehementer agitabatur auctore Pompeio; quae nihil populare habebat praeter auctorem. Ex hac ego lege, secunda concionis voluntate, omnia illa tollebam, quae ad privatorum incommodum pertinebant; liberabam agrum eum, qui,

P. Mucio, L. Calpurnio consulibus, publicus fuisset; Sullanorum hominum possessiones confirmabam; Volaterranos et Arretinos, quorum agrum Sulla publicarat neque diviserat, in sua possessione retinebam; unam rationem non reiiciebam, ut ager hac adventitia pecunia emeretur, quae ex novis vectigalibus per quinquennium reciperetur. Huic toti rationi agrariae senatus adversabatur, suspicans, Pompeio novam quamdam potentiam quaeri. Pompeius vero ad voluntatem perferendae legis incubuerat. Ego autem, magna cum agrariorum gratia, confirmabam omnium privatorum possessiones: (is enim est noster exercitus, hominum, ut tute scis, locupletium:) populo autem et Pompeio (nam id quoque volebam) satisfaciebam emptione, qua constituta diligenter et sentinam Urbis exhauriri et Italiae solitudinem frequentari posse arbitrabar. Sed haec tota res interpellata bello refrixerat. Metellus est consul sane bonus, et nos admodum diligit. Ille alter ita nihil est, ut plane, quid emerit, nesciat. 5. Haec sunt in republica; nisi etiam illud ad rempublicam putas pertinere, Herennium quemdam, tribunum plebis, tribulem tuum, sane hominem nequam atque egentem, saepe iam de P. Clodio ad plebem traducendo agere coepisse. Huic frequenter interceditur. Haec sunt, ut opinor, in republica. 6. Ego autem, ut semel Nonarum illarum Decembrium iunctam invidia ac multorum inimicitiis eximiam quamdam atque immortalem gloriam consecutus sum, non destiti eadem animi magnitudine in republica versari, et illam institutam ac susceptam dignitatem tueri; sed posteaquam primum Clodii absolutione levitatem infirmitatemque iudiciorum perspexi, deinde vidi, nostros publicanos facile a senatu disiungi, quamquam a me ipso non divellerentur, tum autem beatos homines (hos piscinarios dico, amicos tuos) non obscure nobis invidere: putavi mihi maiores quasdam opes et firmiora praesidia esse quaerenda. 7. Itaque primum eum, qui nimium diu de rebus nostris tacuerat, Pompeium adduxi in eam voluntatem, ut in senatu non semel, sed saepe, multisque verbis, huius mihi salutem imperii atque orbis terrarum adiudicarit. Quod non tam interfuit mea, (neque enim illae res aut ita sunt obscurae, ut testimonium, aut ita dubiae, ut laudationem desiderent,) quam reipublicae: quod erant quidam improbi, qui contentionem fore aliquam mihi cum Pompeio ex rerum illarum dissensione arbitrarentur. Cum hoc ego me tanta

familiaritate coniunxi, ut uterque nostrum in sua ratione munitior et in republica firmior hac coniunctione esse possit. 8. Odia autem illa libidinosae et delicatae iuventutis, quae erant in me incitata, sic mitigata sunt comitate quadam mea, me unum ut omnes illi colant. Nihil iam denique a me asperum in quemquam fit, nec tamen quidquam populare ac dissolutum; sed ita temperata tota ratio est, ut reipublicae constantiam praestem, privatis rebus meis, propter infirmitatem bonorum, iniquitatem malevolorum, odium in me improborum, adhibeam quamdam cautionem et diligentiam: atque ita tamen his novis amicitiis implicati sumus, ut crebro mihi vafer ille Siculus insusurret [Epicharmus] cantilenam illam suam:

Νᾶφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν. ἄρθρα ταῦτα τᾶν φρενῶν.

Ac nostrae quidem rationis ac vitae quasi quamdam formam, ut opinor, vides. 9. De tuo autem negotio saepe ad me scribis; cui mederi nunc non possumus. Est enim illud senatus consultum summa pedariorum voluntate, nullius nostrum auctoritate factum. Nam, quod me esse ad scribendum vides, ex ipso senatus consulto intelligere potes, aliam rem tum relatam, hoc autem de populis liberis, sine caussa additum: et ita factum est a P. Servilio filio, qui in postremis sententiam dixit; sed immutari hoc tempore non potest. Itaque conventus, qui initio celebrabantur, iam diu fieri desierunt. Tu si tuis blanditiis tamen a Sicyoniis nummulorum aliquid expresseris; velim, me facias certiorem. 10. *Commentarium consulatus mei* Graece compositum misi ad te: in quo si quid erit, quod homini Attico minus Graecum eruditumque videatur: non dicam, quod tibi, ut opinor, Panormi Lucullus de suis historiis dixerat, se, quo facilius illas probaret Romani hominis esse, idcirco barbara quaedam et σόλοικα dispersisse. Apud me si quid erit eiusmodi, me imprudente erit et invito. *Latinum* si perfecero, ad te mittam. Tertium *poema* exspectato, ne quod genus a me ipso laudis meae praetermittatur. Hic tu, cave, dicas, τίς πατέρ' αἰνήσει; si est enim apud homines quidquam, quod potius sit, laudetur; nos vituperemur, qui non potius alia laudemus. Quamquam non ἐγκωμιαστικά sunt haec, sed ἱστορικά, quae scribimus. 11. Quintus frater purgat se multum per litteras, et affirmat nihil a se cuiquam de te secus esse dictum. Verum haec nobis coram

summa cura et diligentia sunt agenda; tu modo nos revise aliquando. Cossinius hic, cui dedi litteras, valde mihi bonus homo et non levis et amans tui visus est, et talis, qualem esse eum tuae mihi litterae nuntiarant. Idibus Mart. (*Ad Att.* I. xix.)

## EPISTOLA VI.

(Romae, A.U.C. 694.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Kal. Iun. eunti mihi Antium et gladiatores M. Metelli cupide relinquenti venit obviam tuus puer. Is mihi litteras abs te et commentarium consulatus mei Graece scriptum reddidit. In quo laetatus sum, aliquanto ante de iisdem rebus Graece item scriptum librum L. Cossinio ad te perferendum dedisse. Nam, si ego tuum ante legissem, furatum me abs te esse, diceres. Quamquam tua illa (legi enim libenter) horridula mihi atque incompta visa sunt: sed tamen erant ornata hoc ipso, quod ornamenta neglexerant: et, ut mulieres, ideo bene olere, quia nihil olebant, videbantur. Meus autem liber totum Isocrati μυροθήκιον, atque omnes eius discipulorum arculas, ac nonnihil etiam Aristotelia pigmenta consumpsit; quem tu Corcyrae, ut mihi aliis litteris significas, strictim attigisti, post autem, ut arbitror, a Cossinio accepisti; quem tibi ego non essem ausus mittere, nisi eum lente ac fastidiose probavissem. 2. Quamquam ad me rescripsit iam Rhodo Posidonius, se, nostrum illud ὑπόμνημα quum legeret, quod ego ad eum, ut ornatius de iisdem rebus scriberet, miseram, non modo non excitatum esse ad scribendum, sed etiam plane perterritum. Quid quaeris? conturbavi Graecam nationem. Ita vulgo qui instabant, ut darem sibi, quod ornarent, iam exhibere mihi molestiam destiterunt. Tu, si tibi placuerit liber, curabis, ut et Athenis sit, et in ceteris oppidis Graeciae. Videtur enim posse aliquid nostris rebus lucis afferre. 3. Oratiunculas autem, et quas postulas, et plures etiam mittam, quoniam quidem ea, quae nos scribimus adolescentulorum studiis excitati, te etiam delectant. Fuit enim mihi commodum, quod in eis orationibus, quae *Philippicae* nominantur, enituerat civis ille tuus Demosthenes, et quod se ab hoc refractariolo iudiciali dicendi genere abiunxerat, ut σεμνότερός τις καὶ πολιτικώτερος videretur,

curare, ut meae quoque essent orationes, quae *Consulares* nominarentur. Quarum una est in senatu Kal. Ian., altera ad populum de lege agraria, tertia de Othone, quarta pro Rabirio, quinta de proscriptorum filiis, sexta, quum provinciam in concione deposui, septima, qua Catilinam emisi, octava, quam habui ad populum postridie, quam Catilina profugit, nona in concione, quo die Allobroges invulgarunt, decima in senatu, Nonis Decemb. Sunt praeterea duae breves, quasi ἀποσπασμάτια legis agrariae. Hoc totum σῶμα curabo ut habeas. Et quoniam te quum scripta, tum res meae delectant, iisdem ex libris perspicies, et quae gesserim, et quae dixerim; aut ne poposcisses: ego enim tibi me non offerebam. 4. Quod quaeris, quid sit, quod te arcessam, ac simul impeditum te negotiis esse significas, neque recusas, quin, non modo si opus sit, sed etiam si velim, accurras: nihil sane est necesse: verumtamen videbare mihi tempora peregrinationis commodius posse describere. Nimis abes diu, praesertim quum sis in propinquis locis: neque nos te fruimur et tu nobis cares. Ac nunc quidem otium est; sed, si paullo plus furor Pulchelli progredi posset, valde ego te istinc excitarem. Verum praeclare Metellus impedit, et impediet. Quid quaeris? est consul φιλόπατρις, et, ut semper iudicavi, natura bonus. 5. Ille autem non simulat, sed plane tribunus plebis fieri cupit. Qua de re quum in senatu ageretur, fregi hominem et inconstantiam eius reprehendi, qui Romae tribunatum plebis peteret, quum in Sicilia aedilitatem saepe dictitasset. Sed neque magno opere dixi esse nobis laborandum, quod nihilo magis ei liciturum esset plebeio rempublicam perdere, quam similibus eius, me consule, patriciis esset licitum. Iam, quum se ille septimo die venisse a freto, neque sibi obviam quemquam prodire potuisse et noctu se introisse dixisset, in eoque se in concione iactasset, nihil ei novi dixi accidisse: ex Sicilia septimo die Romam; tribus horis Roma Interamnam: noctu introisse item ante: non esse itum obviam, ne tum quidem, quum iri maxime debuit. Quid quaeris? hominem petulantem modestum reddo, non solum perpetua gravitate orationis, sed etiam hoc genere dictorum. Itaque iam familiariter cum ipso cavillor etiam ac iocor. Quin etiam quum candidatum deduceremus, quaerit ex me, num consuessem Siculis locum gladiatoribus dare? Negavi. At ego, inquit, novus patro-

nus instituam: sed soror, quae tantum habeat consularis loci, unum mihi solum pedem dat. Noli, inquam, de uno pede sororis queri: licet etiam alterum tollas. Non consulare, inquies, dictum; fateor: sed ego illam odi male consularem: ea est enim seditiosa; ea cum viro bellum gerit, neque solum cum Metello, sed etiam cum Fabio, quod eos mihi esse amicos moleste fert. 6. Quod de agraria lege quaeris, sane iam videtur refrixisse. Quod me quodam modo —molli brachio—de Pompeii familiaritate obiurgas, nolim ita existimes, me mei praesidii caussa cum illo coniunctum esse; sed ita res erat instituta, ut, si inter nos esset aliqua forte dissensio, maximas in republica discordias versari esset necesse. Quod a me ita praecautum atque ita provisum est, non ut ego de optima illa mea ratione decederem, sed ut ille esset melior, et aliquid de populari levitate deponeret: quem de meis rebus, in quas eum multi incitarant, multo scito gloriosius, quam de suis praedicare. Sibi enim bene gestae, mihi conservatae reipublicae dat testimonium. Hoc facere illum, mihi quam prosit, nescio; reipublicae certe prodest. Quid, si etiam Caesarem, cuius nunc venti valde sunt secundi, reddo meliorem, num tantum obsum reipublicae? 7. Quin etiam, si mihi nemo invideret; si omnes, ut erat aequum, faverent: tamen non minus esset probanda medicina, que sanaret vitiosas partes reipublicae, quam quae exsecaret. Nunc vero, quum equitatus ille, quem ego in clivo Capitolino, te signifero ac principe, collocaram, senatum deseruerit, nostri autem principes digito se caelum putent attingere, si mulli barbati in piscinis sint, qui ad manum accedant, alia autem negligant: nonne tibi satis prodesse videor, si perficio, ut nolint obesse, qui possunt? 8. Nam Catonem nostrum non tu amas plus, quam ego: sed tamen ille, optimo animo utens et summa fide, nocet interdum reipublicae. Dicit enim tamquam in Platonis πολιτείᾳ, non tamquam in Romuli faece, sententiam. Quid verius, quam in iudicium venire, qui ob rem iudicandam pecuniam acceperit? Censuit hoc Cato: assensit senatus. Equites curiae bellum, non mihi: nam ego dissensi. Quid impudentius publicanis renuntiantibus? Fuit tamen, retinendi ordinis caussa, facienda iactura. Restitit et pervicit Cato. Itaque nunc, consule in carcere incluso, saepe item seditione commota, aspiravit nemo eorum, quorum ego concursu,

itemque ii consules, qui post me fuerunt, rempublicam defendere solebant. Quid ergo? istos, inquies, mercede conductos habebimus? Quid faciemus, si aliter non possumus? an libertinis atque etiam servis serviemus? sed, ut tu ais, *ἅλις σπουδῆς*. 9. Favonius meam tribum tulit honestius, quam suam, Lucceii perdidit: accusavit Nasicam inhoneste, ac modeste tamen dicit: ita ut Rhodi videretur molis potius, quam Moloni, operam dedisse: mihi, quod defendissem, leviter succensuit. Nunc tamen petit iterum reipublicae caussa. Lucceius quid agat, scribam ad te, quum Caesarem videro, qui aderit biduo. 10. Quod Sicyonii te laedunt, Catoni et eius aemulatori attribuis Servilio. Quid? ea plaga nonne ad multos bonos viros pertinet? Sed, si ita placuit, laudemus; deinde in dissensionibus soli relinquamur! 11. Amalthea mea te exspectat et indiget tui. Tusculanum et Pompeianum valde me delectant, nisi quod me, illum ipsum vindicem aeris alieni, aere non Corinthio, sed hoc circumforaneo obruerunt. In Gallia speramus esse otium. *Prognostica* mea cum *oratiunculis* propediem exspecta. Et tamen, quid cogites de adventu tuo, scribe ad nos. Nam mihi Pomponia nuntiari iussit, te mense Quintili Romae fore. Id a tuis litteris, quas ad me de decessu tuo miseras, discrepabat. 12. Paetus, ut antea ad te scripsi, omnes libros, quos frater suus reliquisset, mihi donavit. Hoc illius munus in tua diligentia positum est. Si me amas, cura, ut conserventur et ad me perferantur. Hoc mihi nihil potest esse gratius: et quum Graecos, tum vero diligenter Latinos ut conserves velim. Tuum esse hoc munusculum putabo. Ad Octavium dedi litteras: cum ipso nihil eram locutus. Neque enim ista tua negotia provincialia esse putabam, neque te in toculionibus habebam. Sed scripsi, ut debui, diligenter. (*Ad Att.* II. i.)

## EPISTOLA VII.

(In Antiati, A.U.C. 695.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Cupio equidem, et iam pridem cupio, Alexandriam reliquamque Aegyptum visere, et simul ab hac hominum satietate nostri discedere et cum aliquo desiderio reverti; sed hoc tempore, et his mittentibus,

*αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρωάδας ἑλκεσιπέπλους.*

Quid enim nostri optimates, si qui reliqui sunt, loquentur? an, me aliquo praemio de sententia esse deductum?

Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει—

Cato ille noster, qui mihi unus est pro centum millibus. Quid vero historiae de nobis ad annos DC praedicarint? quas quidem ego multo magis vereor, quam eorum hominum, qui hodie vivunt, rumusculos. Sed, opinor, excipiamus et exspectemus. Si enim deferetur, erit quaedam nostra potestas, et tum deliberabimus. Etiam, hercule, est in non accipiendo nonnulla gloria. Quare si quid Θεοφάνης tecum forte contulerit, ne omnino repudiaris. 2. De istis rebus exspecto tuas litteras: quid Arrius narret; quo animo se destitutum ferat; ecqui consules parentur; utrum, ut populi sermo, Pompeius et Crassus; an, ut mihi scribitur, cum Gabinio Servius Sulpicius; et, num quae novae leges; et, num quid novi omnino; et, quoniam Nepos proficiscitur, cuinam auguratus deferatur, quo quidem uno ego ab istis capi possum. Vide levitatem meam. Sed quid ego haec, quae cupio deponere, et toto animo atque omni cura φιλοσοφεῖν? Sic, inquam, in animo est. Vellem ab initio. Nunc vero, quoniam, quae putavi esse praeclara, expertus sum, quam essent inania, cum omnibus Musis rationem habere cogito. 3. Tu tamen de Curtio ad me rescribe certius; et, num quis in eius locum paretur; et, quid de P. Clodio fiat; et omnia, quemadmodum polliceris, ἐπὶ σχολῆς scribe; et, quo die Roma te exiturum putes, velim ad me scribas, ut certiorem te faciam, quibus in locis futurus sim; epistolamque statim des de iis rebus, de quibus ad te scripsi. Valde enim exspecto tuas litteras. (*Ad Att.* II. v.)

## EPISTOLA VIII.

(In Antiati, A.U.C. 695.)

## CICERO ATTICO S.

1. S. V. B. E. Quum mihi dixisset Caecilius quaestor puerum se Romam mittere, haec scripsi raptim, ut tuos elicerem mirificos cum Publio dialogos, quum eos, de quibus scribis, tum illum, quem abdis et ais longum esse, quae ad ea responderis, perscribere: illum vero, qui nondum habitus est, quem illa βοῶπις, quum e Solonio redierit, ad te est relatura,

sic velim putes, nihil hoc posse mihi esse iucundius. Si vero, quae de me pacta sunt, ea non servantur, in caelo sum, ut sciat hic noster Hierosolymarius traductor ad plebem, quam bonam meis putissimis orationibus gratiam retulerit, quarum exspecta divinam παλινῳδίαν. Etenim, quantum coniectura auguramur, si erit nebulo iste cum his dynastis in gratia, non modo de cynico consulari, sed ne de istis quidem piscinarum Tritonibus poterit se iactare. Non enim poterimus ulla esse in invidia, spoliati opibus et illa senatoria potentia. Sin autem ab his dissentiet, erit absurdum in nos invehi. Verumtamen invehatur. Festive, mihi crede, et minore sonitu, quam putaram, orbis hic in republica est conversus: citius omnino, quam oportuit, id culpa Catonis, sed rursus improbitate istorum, qui auspicia, qui Aemiliam legem, qui Iuniam et Liciniam, qui Caeciliam et Didiam neglexerunt; qui omnia remedia reipublicae effuderunt; qui regna, qui praedia tetrarchis, qui immanes pecunias paucis dederunt. 2. Video iam, quo invidia transeat, et ubi sit habitatura. Nihil me existimaris neque usu neque a Theophrasto didicisse, nisi brevi tempore desiderari nostra illa tempora videris. Etenim si fuit invidiosa senatus potentia; quum ea non ad populum, sed ad tres homines immoderatos redacta sit, quid iam censes fore? proinde isti licet faciant, quos volent, consules, tribunos plebis, denique etiam Vatinii strumam sacerdotii διβάφῳ vestiant; videbis brevi tempore magnos non modo eos, qui nihil titubarunt, sed etiam illum ipsum, qui peccavit, Catonem. 3. Nam nos quidem, si per istum tuum sodalem Publium licebit, σοφιστεύειν cogitamus, si ille cogit ἄντα, tum dumtaxat nos defendere; et, quod est proprium artis huius, ἐπαγγέλλομαι

ἄνδρ' ἀπαμύνεσθαι, ὅτε τις πρότερος χαλεπήνῃ.

Patria propitia sit: habet a nobis, etiamsi non plus, quam debitum est, plus certe, quam postulatum est. Male vehi malo alio gubernante, quam tam ingratis vectoribus bene gubernare. 4. Sed haec coram commodius. Nunc audi, quod quaeris. Antium me ex Formiano recipere cogito a. d. v. Non. Mai. Antio volo Non. Mai. proficisci in Tusculanum. Sed quum e Formiano rediero, (ibi esse usque ad prid. Kalend. Mai. volo,) faciam statim te certiorem. Terentia tibi salutem. Κικέρων ὁ μικρὸς ἀσπάζεται Τίτον Ἀθηναῖον. (*Ad Att.* II. ix.)

## EPISTOLA IX.

(Romae, A.U.C. 695.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Multa me sollicitant et ex reipublicae tanto motu et ex iis periculis, quae mihi ipsi intenduntur et sexcenta sunt. Sed mihi nihil est molestius, quam Statium manumissum:

*Néc meum impérium? ac mítto impérium, nón simultatém meum*
*Reveréri saltem?*

nec, quid faciam, scio; neque tantum est in re, quantus est sermo. Ego autem ne irasci possum quidem iis, quos valde amo; tantum doleo, ac mirifice quidem. Cetera in magnis rebus, minae Clodii contentionesque, quae mihi proponuntur, modice me tangunt. Etenim vel subire eas videor mihi summa cum dignitate vel declinare nulla cum molestia posse. Dices fortasse, dignitatis ἅλις, tamquam δρυός: saluti, si me amas, consule. Me miserum! cur non ades? Nihil profecto te praeteriret; ego fortasse τυφλώττω, et nimium τῷ καλῷ προσπέπονθα. 2. Scito nihil umquam fuisse tam infame, tam turpe, tam peraeque omnibus generibus, ordinibus, aetatibus offensum, quam hunc statum, qui nunc est: magis mehercule, quam vellem, non modo quam putaram. Populares isti iam etiam modestos homines sibilare docuerunt. Bibulus in caelo est, nec, quare, scio; sed ita laudatur, quasi

*Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.*

Pompeius, nostri amores, quod mihi summo dolori est, ipse se afflixit: neminem tenet: voluntate, an metu ne necesse sit iis uti, vereor. Ego autem neque pugno cum illa caussa propter illam amicitiam, neque approbo, ne omnia improbem, quae antea gessi: utor via. 3. Populi sensus maxime theatro et spectaculis perspectus est. Nam gladiatoribus, qua dominus, qua advocati sibilis conscissi: ludis Apollinaribus Diphilus tragoedus in nostrum Pompeium petulanter invectus est:

*Nóstra miseriá tu es Magnus,*

millies coactus est dicere.

*Eámdem virtutem istam, veniet témpus, quum gravitér gemes,*

totius theatri clamore dixit, itemque cetera. Nam et eiusmodi sunt ii versus, ut in tempus ab inimico Pompeii scripti esse videantur.

*Si néque leges neque móres cogunt,*

et cetera magno cum fremitu et clamore sunt dicta. Caesar quum venisset, mortuo plausu, Curio filius est insecutus. Huic ita plausum est, ut, salva republica, Pompeio plaudi solebat. Tulit Caesar graviter. Litterae Capuam ad Pompeium volare dicebantur. Inimici erant equitibus, qui Curioni stantes plauserant: hostes omnibus. Rosciae legi, etiam frumentariae, minitabantur. Sane res erat perturbata. Equidem malueram, quod erat susceptum ab illis, silentio transire: sed vereor ne non liceat. Non ferunt homines, quod videtur esse tamen ferendum. Sed est iam una vox omnium, magis odio firmata, quam praesidio 4. Noster autem Publius mihi inimicatur: impendet negotium, ad quod tu scilicet advolabis. Videor mihi nostrum illum consularem exercitum bonorum omnium, etiam satis bonorum, habere firmissimum. Pompeius significat studium erga me non mediocre. Idem affirmat verbum de me illum non esse facturum. In quo non me ille fallit, sed ipse fallitur. Cosconio mortuo, sum in eius locum invitatus. Id erat vocari in locum mortui. Nihil me turpius apud homines fuisset, neque vero ad istam ipsam ἀσφάλειαν quidquam alienius. Sunt enim illi apud bonos invidiosi: ego apud improbos meam retinuissem invidiam, alienam assumpsissem. 5. Caesar me sibi vult esse legatum. Honestior haec declinatio periculi. Sed ego hoc nunc repudio. Quid ergo est? Pugnare malo. Nihil tamen certi. Iterum dico, utinam adesses! Sed tamen, si erit necesse, arcessemus. Quid aliud? quid? Hoc opinor: certi sumus perisse omnia. Quid enim ἀκκιζόμεθα tamdiu? Sed haec scripsi properans, et mehercule timide. Posthac ad te, aut, si perfidelem habebo, cui dem, scribam plane omnia, aut, si obscure scribam, tu tamen intelliges. In iis epistolis me Laelium, te Furium faciam: cetera erunt ἐν αἰνιγμοῖς. Hic Caecilium colimus et observamus diligenter. 6. Edicta Bibuli audio ad te missa. Iis ardet dolore et ira noster Pompeius. (*Ad Att.* II. xix.)

## EPISTOLA X.

(Romae, A.U.C. 695.)

## CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Quas Numestio litteras dedi, sic te iis evocabam, ut nihil acrius neque incitatius fieri posset. Ad illam κέλευσιν adde etiam, si quid potes. Ac ne sis perturbatus; novi enim te, et non ignoro, quam sit amor omnis sollicitus atque anxius: sed res est, ut spero, non tam exitu molesta, quam aditu. 2. Vettius ille, ille noster index, Cæsari, ut perspicimus, pollicitus est, sese curaturum, ut in aliquam suspicionem facinoris Curio filius adduceretur. Itaque insinuatus in familiaritatem adolescentis, et cum eo, ut res indicat, saepe congressus, rem in eum locum deduxit, ut diceret, sibi certum esse, cum suis servis in Pompeium impetum facere, eumque occidere. Hoc Curio ad patrem detulit, ille ad Pompeium. Res delata ad senatum est. Introductus Vettius primo negabat se umquam cum Curione restitisse, neque id sane diu. Nam statim fidem publicam postulavit. Haud reclamatum est. Tum exposuit, manum fuisse iuventutis, duce Curione, in qua Paullus initio fuisset, et Q. Caepio hic Brutus, et Lentulus, flaminis filius, conscio patre. Postea C. Septimium, scribam Bibuli, pugionem sibi a Bibulo attulisse: quod totum irrisum est: Vettio pugionem defuisse, nisi ei consul dedisset: eoque magis id eiectum est, quod a. d. III. Id. Mai. Bibulus Pompeium fecerat certiorem, ut caveret insidias: in quo ei Pompeius gratias egerat. 3. Introductus Curio filius, dixit ad ea, quae Vettius dixerat: maxime in eo tum quidem Vettius est reprehensus, quod dixerat, adolescentium consilium, ut in foro [cum] gladiatoribus Gabinii Pompeium adorirentur; in eo principem Paullum fuisse; quem constabat eo tempore in Macedonia fuisse. Fit senatus consultum, ut Vettius, quod confessus esset se cum telo fuisse, in vincula coniiceretur: qui eum emisisset, contra rempublicam esse facturum. Res erat in ea opinione, ut putarent id esse actum, ut Vettius in foro cum pugione, et item servi eius comprehenderentur cum telis, deinde ille se diceret indicaturum; idque ita actum esset, nisi Curiones rem ante ad Pompeium detulissent. Tum senatus consultum in concione recitatum est. Postero autem die Caesar, is, qui olim, praetor quum esset, Q. Catulum ex inferiore loco iusserat

dicere, Vettium in rostra produxit, eumque in eo loco constituit, quo Bibulo consuli aspirare non liceret. Hic ille omnia, quae voluit, de republica dixit; et qui illuc factus institutusque venisset, primum Caepionem de oratione sua sustulit, quem in senatu acerrime nominarat; ut appareret, noctem et nocturnam deprecationem intercessisse; deinde, quos in senatu ne tenuissima quidem suspicione attigerat, eos nominavit: Lucullum, a quo solitum esse ad se mitti C. Fannium, illum qui in P. Clodium subscripserat; L. Domitium, cuius domum constitutam fuisse, unde eruptio fieret; me non nominavit, sed dixit, consularem disertum, vicinum consulis, sibi dixisse, Ahalam Servilium aliquem aut Brutum opus esse reperiri. Addidit ad extremum, quum, iam dimissa concione, revocatus a Vatinio fuisset, se audisse a Curione, his de rebus conscium esse Pisonem, generum meum, et M. Laterensem. 4. Nunc reus erat apud Crassum Divitem Vettius de vi: et, quum esset damnatus, erat indicium postulaturus: quod si impetrasset, iudicia fore videbantur. Ea nos, utpote qui nihil contemnere solemus, non pertimescebamus. Hominum quidem summa erga nos studia significabantur; sed prorsus vitae taedet: ita sunt omnia omnium miseriarum plenissima. Modo caedem timueramus, quam oratio fortissimi senis Q. Considii discusserat; ea, quam quotidie timere potueramus subito exorta est. Quid quaeris? nihil me infortunatius, nil fortunatius est Catulo, quum splendore vitae, tum occasus tempore. Nos tamen in his miseriis erecto animo et minime perturbato sumus, honestissimeque dignitatem nostram et magna cura tuemur. 5. Pompeius de Clodio iubet nos esse sine cura, et summam in nos benevolentiam omni oratione significat. Te habere consiliorum auctorem, sollicitudinum socium, omni in cogitatione coniunctum, cupio. Quare, ut Numestio mandavi, tecum ut ageret, item, atque eo, si potest, acrius, te rogo, ut plane ad nos advoles. Respiraro, si te videro. (*Ad Att.* II. xxiv.)

## EPISTOLA XI.

(Romae, A.U.C. 695.)

### M. CICERO Q. FRATRI S.

I. 1. Statius ad me venit a. d. VIII Kalend. Novembr. Eius adventus, quod ita scripsisti, direptum iri te a tuis, dum is abesset, molestus mihi fuit. Quod autem exspectationem

sui concursumque eum, qui erat futurus, si una tecum decederet, neque antea visus esset, sustulit; id mihi non incommode visum est accidisse. Exhaustus enim est sermo hominum, et multis emissae iam eiusmodi voces, ἀλλ' αἰεί τινα φῶτα μέγαν: quae te absente confecta esse laetor. 2. Quod autem idcirco a te missus est, mihi ut se purgaret, id necesse minime fuit. Primum enim numquam ille mihi fuit suspectus: neque ego, quae ad te de illo scripsi, scripsi meo iudicio, sed quum ratio salusque omnium nostrum, qui ad rempublicam accedimus, non veritate solum, sed etiam fama niteretur, sermones ad te aliorum semper, non mea iudicia perscripsi. Qui quidem quam frequentes essent et quam graves, adventu suo Statius ipse cognovit. Etenim intervenit nonnullorum querelis, quae apud me de illo ipso habebantur: et sentire potuit, sermones iniquorum in suum potissimum nomen erumpere. 3. Quod autem me maxime movere solebat, quum audiebam, illum plus apud te posse, quam gravitas illius aetatis et imperii prudentia postularet, (quam multos enim mecum egisse putas, ut se Statio commendarem? quam multa autem ipsum ἀφελῶς mecum in sermone ita protulisse?) id mihi non placuit: monui, suasi, deterrui. Quibus in rebus etiamsi fidelitas summa est (quod prorsus credo, quoniam tu ita iudicas), tamen species ipsa tam gratiosi liberti aut servi dignitatem habere nullam potest. Atque hoc sic habeto (nihil enim nec temere dicere, nec astute reticere debeo), materiam omnem sermonum eorum, qui de te detrahere velint, Statium dedisse: antea tantum intelligi potuisse, iratos tuae severitati esse nonnullos: hoc manumisso, iratis, quod loquerentur, non defuisse. II. 4. Nunc respondebo ad eas epistolas, quas mihi reddidit L. Cæsius (cui, quoniam ita te velle intelligo, nullo loco deero), quarum altera est de Blaudenio Zeuxide, quem scribis certissimum matricidam tibi a me intime commendari. Qua de re, et de hoc genere toto, ne forte me in Græcos tam ambitiosum factum esse mirere, pauca cognosce. Ego quum Græcorum querelas nimium valere sentirem, propter hominum ingenia ad fallendum parata: quoscumque de te queri audivi, quacumque potui ratione placavi. Primum Dionysopolitas, qui erant inimicissimi mei, lenivi: quorum principem Hermippum non solum sermone meo, sed etiam familiaritate devinxi. Ego Apameensem Hephæstum, ego levissimum hominem, Megaristum Antandrium, ego Ni-

ciam Smyrnæum, ego nugas maximas omni mea comitate sum complexus, Nymphontem etiam Colophonium. Quæ feci omnia, non quo me aut ii homines, aut tota natio delectaret: pertaesum est levitatis, assentationis, animorum non officiis, sed temporibus servientium. 5. Sed, ut ad Zeuxim revertar: quum is de M. Cascellii sermone secum habito, quae tu scribis, ea ipsa loqueretur, obstiti eius sermoni, et hominem in familiaritatem recepi. Tua autem quae fuerit cupiditas tanta, nescio, quod scribis cupiisse te, quoniam Smyrnæ duo Mysos insuisses in culeum, simile in superiore parte provinciæ edere exemplum severitatis tuae et idcirco Zeuxim elicere omni ratione voluisse: quem adductum in iudicium fortasse dimitti non oportuerat; conquiri vero, et elici blanditiis (ut tu scribis) ad iudicium, necesse non fuit; eum praesertim hominem, quem ego et ex suis civibus, et ex multis aliis quotidie magis cognosco nobiliorem esse prope, quam civitatem suam. 6. At enim Græcis solis indulgeo. Quid? L. Cæcilium nonne omni ratione placavi? quem hominem! qua ira! quo spiritu! Quem denique, præter Tuscenium, cuius caussa sanari non potest, non mitigavi? Ecce supra caput homo levis ac sordidus, sed tamen equestri censu, Catienus: etiam is lenietur. Cuius tu in patrem quod fuisti asperior, non reprehendo; certo enim scio, te fecisse cum caussa. Sed quid opus fuit eiusmodi litteris, quas ad ipsum misisti? illum crucem sibi ipsum constituere, ex qua tu eum ante detraxisses: te curaturum, fumo ut combureretur, plaudente tota provincia. Quid vero ad C. Fabium, nescio quem? (nam eam quoque epistolam T. Catienus circumgestat.) Renuntiari tibi Licinium plagiarium cum suo pullo milvino tributa exigere? Deinde rogas Fabium, ut et patrem et filium vivos comburat, si possit: sin minus, ad te mittat, uti iudicio comburantur. Hae litterae abs te per iocum missae ad C. Fabium, si modo sunt tuae, quum leguntur, invidiosam atrocitatem verborum habent. 7. Ac, si omnium mearum litterarum praecepta repetes; intelliges, nihil esse a me, nisi orationis acerbitatem et iracundiam et, si forte, raro litterarum missarum indiligentiam reprehensam. Quibus quidem in rebus si apud te plus auctoritas mea, quam tua sive natura paullo acrior, sive quaedam dulcedo iracundiae, sive dicendi sal facetiaeque valuissent, nihil sane esset, quod nos poeniteret. Et mediocri me dolore putas affici, quum audiam, qua sit existimatione

Virgilius, qua tuus vicinus C. Octavius? Nam si te interioribus vicinis tuis, Ciliciensi et Syriaco, anteponis, valde magnum facis. Atque is dolor est, quod quum ii, quos nominavi, te innocentia non vincant, vincunt tamen artificio benevolentiae colligendae, qui neque Cyrum Xenophontis neque Agesilaum noverint: quorum regum summo in imperio nemo umquam verbum ullum asperius audivit. Sed haec a principio tibi praecipiens, quantum profecerim, non ignoro. III. 8. Nunc tamen decedens (id quod mihi iam facere videris) relinque, quaeso, quam iucundissimam memoriam tui. Successorem habes perblandum: cetera valde illius adventu tua requirentur. In litteris mittendis (ut saepe ad te scripsi) nimium te exorabilem praebuisti. Tolle omnes, si potes, iniquas, tolle inusitatas, tolle contrarias. Statius mihi narravit, scriptas ad te solere afferri, ab se legi: et, si iniquae sint, fieri te certiorem: antequam vero ipse ad te venisset, nullum delectum litterarum fuisse: ex eo esse volumina selectarum epistolarum, quae reprehendi solerent. 9. Hoc de genere nihil te nunc quidem moneo. Sero est enim: ac scire potes, multa me varie diligenterque monuisse. Illud tamen, quod Theopompo mandavi, quum essem admonitus ab ipso, vide per homines amantes tui, quod est facile, ut haec genera tollantur epistolarum, primum iniquarum, deinde contrariarum, tum absurde et inusitate scriptarum, postremo in aliquem contumeliosarum. Atque ego haec tam esse, quam audio, non puto: et si sunt occupationibus tuis minus animadversa, nunc perspice et purga. Legi epistolam, quam ipse scripsisse Sulla nomenclator dictus est, non probandam: legi nonnullas iracundas. 10. Sed tempore ipso de epistolis. Nam quum hanc paginam tenerem, L. Flavius, praetor designatus, ad me venit, homo mihi valde familiaris. Is mihi, te ad procuratores suos litteras misisse, quae mihi visae sunt iniquissimae; ne quid de bonis, quae L. Octavii Nasonis fuissent, cui L. Flavius heres est, deminuerent ante, quam C. Fundanio pecuniam solvissent. Itemque misisse ad Apollonidenses, ne de bonis, quae Octavii fuissent, deminui paterentur, priusquam Fundanio debitum solutum esset. Haec mihi verisimilia non videntur. Sunt enim a prudentia tua remotissima. Ne deminuat heres? Quid si infitiatur? Quid si omnino non debetur? Quid? praetor solet iudicare deberi? Quid? ego Fundanio non cupio? non amicus sum? non

misericordia moveor? Nemo magis: sed via iuris eiusmodi est quibusdam in rebus, ut nihil sit loci gratiae. Atque ita mihi dicebat Flavius scriptum in ea epistola, quam tuam esse dicebat, te aut quasi amicis tuis gratias acturum, aut quasi inimicis incommoda laturum. 11. Quid multa? ferebat graviter, id vehementer mecum querebatur, orabatque, ut ad te quam diligentissime scriberem: quod facio, et te prorsus vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo, ut et procuratoribus Flavii remittas de deminuendo, et de Apollonidensibus, ne quid perscribas, quod contra Flavium sit, amplius, et Flavii caussa et scilicet Pompeii, facias omnia. Nolo medius fidius ex tua iniuria in illum tibi liberalem me videri: sed et te oro, ut tu ipse auctoritatem et monumentum aliquod decreti aut litterarum tuarum relinquas, quod sit ad Flavii rem et ad caussam accommodatum. Fert enim graviter homo, et mei observantissimus et sui iuris dignitatisque retinens, se apud te neque amicitia, neque iure valuisse: et, ut opinor, Flavii aliquando rem et Pompeius et Caesar tibi commendarunt: et ipse ad te scripserat Flavius, et ego certe. Quare si ulla res est, quam tibi me faciendam petente putes, haec ea sit. Si me amas, cura, elabora, perfice, ut Flavius et tibi et mihi quam maximas gratias agat. Hoc te ita rogo, ut maiore studio rogare non possim. IV. 12. Quod ad me de Hermia scribis, mihi mehercule valde etiam molestum fuit. Litteras ad te parum fraterne conscripseram: quas oratione Diodoti, Luculli liberti, commotus, de pactione statim quod audieram, iracundius scripseram et revocare cupiebam. Huic tu epistolae, non fraterne scriptae, fraterne debes ignoscere. 13. De Censorino, Antonio, Cassiis, Scaevola, te ab his diligi (ut scribis) vehementer gaudeo. Cetera fuerunt in eadem epistola graviora; quam vellem, *ὀρθὰν τὰν ναῦν*, et *ἅπαξ θανεῖν*. Maiora ista erant: meae obiurgationes fuerunt amoris plenissimae; quae sunt nonnulla, sed tamen mediocria, et parva potius. Ego te numquam ulla in re dignum minima reprehensione putassem, quum te sanctissime gereres, nisi inimicos multos haberemus. Quae ad te aliqua admonitione aut obiurgatione scripsi, scripsi propter diligentiam cautionis meae, in qua et maneo et manebo, et idem ut facias, non desistam rogare. 14. Attalus Iphemenus mecum egit, ut se ne impedires, quo minus, quod ad Q. Publiceni statuam decretum est, erogaretur: quod ego te et rogo et admoneo, ne

talis viri, tamque nostri necessarii, honorem minui per te aut impediri velis. Praeterea Aesopi tragoedi, nostri familiaris, Licinius servus, tibi notus, aufugit. Is Athenis apud Patronem Epicureum pro libero fuit: inde in Asiam venit. Postea Plato quidam Sardianus, Epicureus, qui Athenis solet esse multum, et qui tum Athenis fuerat, quum Licinius eo venisset, quum eum fugitivum postea esse ex Aesopi litteris cognosset, hominem comprehendit et in custodiam Ephesi tradidit: sed in publicam, an in pistrinum, non satis ex litteris eius intelligere potuimus. Tu, quoquo modo, quoniam Ephesi est, hominem investiges velim, summaque diligentia vel tecum deducas. Noli spectare, quanti homo sit: parvi enim pretii est, qui iam nihili sit: sed tanto dolore Aesopus est affectus propter servi scelus et audaciam, ut nihil ei gratius facere possis, quam si illum per te recuperarit. V. 15. Nunc ea cognosce, quae maxime exoptas. Rempublicam funditus amisimus; adeo ut Cato, adolescens nullius consilii. sed tamen civis Romanus et Cato, vix vivus effugerit; quod, quum Gabinium de ambitu vellet postulare, neque praetores diebus aliquot adiri possent vel potestatem sui facerent, in concionem ascendit et Pompeium privatum dictatorem appellavit. Propius nihil est factum, quam ut occideretur. Ex hoc, qui sit status totius reipublicae, videre potes. 16. Nostrae tamen caussae non videntur homines defuturi. Mirandum in modum profitentur, offerunt se, pollicentur: et quidem quum spe sum maxima, tum maiore etiam animo; [spero superiores fore nos: confido animo,] ut in hac republica ne casum quidem ullum pertimescam: sed tamen res sic se habet. Si diem nobis Clodius dixerit, tota Italia concurret, ut multiplicata gloria discedamus: sin autem vi agere conabitur, spero fore, studiis non solum amicorum, sed etiam alienorum, ut vi resistamus. Omnes et se et suos liberos, amicos, clientes, libertos, servos, pecunias denique suas pollicentur. Nostra antiqua manus bonorum ardet studio nostri atque amore. Si qui antea aut alieniores fuerant, aut languidiores, nunc horum regum odio se cum bonis coniungunt. Pompeius omnia pollicetur et Caesar: quibus ego ita credo, ut nihil de mea comparatione deminuam. Tribuni plebis designati sunt nobis amici. Consules se optime ostendunt. Praetores habemus amicissimos et acerrimos cives, Domitium, Nigidium, Memmium, Lentulum; bonos etiam

alios: sed hos singulares. Quare magnum fac animum habeas et spem bonam. De singulis tamen rebus, quae quotidie gerantur, faciam te crebro certiorem. (*Ad Q. Fr.* I. ii.)

## EPISTOLA XII.

(Brundisii, A.U.C. 696.)

### TULLIUS S. P. D. TERENTIAE ET TULLIOLAE ET CICERONI SUIS.

1. Ego minus saepe ad vos do litteras, quam possum, propterea quod quum omnia mihi tempora sunt misera, tum vero, quum aut scribo ad vos aut vestras lego, conficior lacrimis, sic ut ferre non possim. Quod utinam minus vitae cupidi fuissemus! certe nihil, aut non multum in vita mali vidissemus. Quod si nos ad aliquam alicuius commodi aliquando recuperandi spem fortuna reservavit, minus est erratum a nobis: sin haec mala fixa sunt, ego vero te quam primum, mea vita, cupio videre et in tuo complexu emori: quando neque dii, quos tu castissime coluisti, neque homines, quibus ego semper servivi, nobis gratiam retulerunt. 2. Nos Brundisii apud M. Laenium Flaccum dies XIII fuimus, virum optimum, qui periculum fortunarum et capitis sui prae mea salute neglexit, neque legis improbissimae poena deductus est, quo minus hospitii et amicitiae ius officiumque praestaret. Huic utinam aliquando gratiam referre possimus! habebimus quidem semper. 3. Brundisio profecti sumus pridie Kalendas Maii. Per Macedoniam Cyzicum petebamus. O me perditum! O afflictum! quid nunc rogem te, ut venias, mulierem aegram, et corpore et animo confectam? Non rogem? sine te igitur sim? Opinor, sic agam. Si est spes nostri reditus, eam confirmes et rem adiuves: sin, ut ego metuo, transactum est, quoquo modo potes, ad me fac venias. Unum hoc scito: si te habebo, non mihi videbor plane perisse. Sed quid de Tulliola mea fiet? iam id vos videte: mihi deest consilium. Sed certe, quoquo modo se res habebit, illius misellae et matrimonio et famae serviendum est. Quid? Cicero meus quid aget? Iste vero sit in sinu semper et complexu meo. Non queo plura iam scribere: impedit maeror. Tu quid egeris, nescio: utrum aliquid teneas, an, quod metuo, plane sis spoliata. 4. Pisonem, ut scribis, spero fore semper

nostrum. De familia liberata nihil est, quod te moveat. Primum, tuis ita promissum est, te facturam esse, ut quisque esset meritus. Est autem in officio adhuc Orpheus: praeterea magno opere nemo. Ceterorum servorum ea caussa est, ut, si res a nobis abisset, liberti nostri essent, si obtinere potuissent: sin ad nos pertinerent, servirent, praeterquam oppido pauci. Sed haec minora sunt. 5. Tu quod me hortaris, ut animo sim magno et spem habeam recuperandae salutis: id velim sit eiusmodi, ut recte sperare possimus. Nunc, miser, quando tuas iam litteras accipiam? quis ad me perferet? quas ego exspectassem Brundisii, si esset licitum per nautas, qui tempestatem praetermittere noluerunt. Quod reliquum est, sustenta te, mea Terentia, ut potes. Honestissime viximus: floruimus. Non vitium nostrum, sed virtus nostra nos afflixit. Peccatum est nullum, nisi quod non una animam cum ornamentis amisimus. Sed si hoc fuit liberis nostris gratius, nos vivere: cetera, quamquam ferenda non sunt, feramus. Atque ego, qui te confirmo, ipse me non possum. 6. Clodium Philetaerum, quod valetudine oculorum impediebatur, hominem fidelem, remisi. Sallustius officio vincit omnes. Pescennius est perbenevolus nobis: quem semper spero tui fore observantem. Sicca dixerat, se mecum fore: sed Brundisio discessit. Cura, quoad potes, ut valeas: et sic existimes, me vehementius tua miseria, quam mea commoveri. Mea Terentia, fidissima atque optima uxor, et mea carissima filiola, et spes reliqua nostra, Cicero, valete. Pridie Kalendas Maii Brundisio. (*Ad Div.* XIV. iv.)

## EPISTOLA XIII.

(Thessalonicae, A.U.C. 696.)

### M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI.

1. Mi frater, mi frater, mi frater, tune id veritus es, ne ego iracundia aliqua adductus pueros ad te sine litteris miserim? aut etiam ne te videre noluerim? Ego tibi irascerer? tibi ego possem irasci? Scilicet. Tu enim me afflixisti: tui me inimici, tua me invidia, ac non ego te misere perdidi. Meus ille laudatus consulatus mihi te, liberos, patriam, fortunas, tibi velim ne quid eripuerit, praeter unum me. Sed certe a te mihi omnia semper honesta et iucunda ceciderunt; a me

tibi luctus meae calamitatis, metus tuae, desiderium, maeror, solitudo. Ego te videre noluerim? Immo vero me a te videri nolui. Non enim vidisses fratrem tuum: non eum, quem reliqueras: non eum, quem noras: non eum, quem flens flentem, prosequentem proficiscens dimiseras: ne vestigium quidem eius, nec simulacrum; sed quamdam effigiem spirantis mortui. Atque utinam me mortuum prius vidisses aut audisses! utinam te non solum vitae, sed etiam dignitatis meae superstitem reliquissem! 2. Sed testor omnes deos, me hac una voce a morte esse revocatum, quod omnes in mea vita partem aliquam tuae vitae repositam esse dicebant. Quare peccavi scelerateque feci. Nam si occidissem, mors ipsa meam pietatem amoremque in te facile defenderet. Nunc commisi, ut vivo me careres, vivo me aliis indigeres; mea vox in domesticis periculis potissimum occideret, quae saepe alienissimis praesidio fuisset. Nam quod ad te pueri sine litteris venerunt; quoniam vides non fuisse iracundiam caussam, certe pigritia fuit, et quaedam infinita vis lacrimarum et dolorum. 3. Haec ipsa me quo fletu putas scripsisse? Eodem, quo te legere certo scio. An ego possum aut non cogitare aliquando de te, aut umquam sine lacrimis cogitare? Quum enim te desidero, fratrem solum desidero? Ego vero suavitate prope aequalem, obsequio filium, consilio parentem. Quid mihi sine te umquam aut tibi sine me iucundum fuit? Quid, quod eodem tempore desidero filiam? qua pietate, qua modestia, quo ingenio? effigiem oris, sermonis, animi mei? Quid filium venustissimum mihique dulcissimum? quem ego ferus ac ferreus e complexu dimisi meo, sapientiorem puerum quam vellem. Sentiebat enim miser iam, quid ageretur. Quid vero tuum filium? quid imaginem tuam, quam meus Cicero et amabat, ut fratrem, et iam, ut maiorem fratrem, verebatur? Quid? quod mulierem miserrimam, fidelissimam coniugem, me prosequi non sum passus, ut esset, quae reliquias communis calamitatis, communes liberos, tueretur? 4. Sed tamen, quoquo modo potui, scripsi, et dedi litteras ad te Philogono, liberto tuo, quas credo tibi postea redditas esse: in quibus idem te hortor et rogo, quod pueri tibi verbis meis nuntiarunt, ut Romam protinus pergas et properes. Primum enim te praesidio esse volui, si qui essent inimici, quorum crudelitas nondum esset nostra calamitate satiata. Deinde congressus nostri lamentationem pertimui: digres-

sum vero non tulissem: atque etiam idipsum, quod tu scribis, metuebam, ne a me distrahi non posses. His de caussis hoc maximum malum, quod te non vidi, quo nihil amantissimis et coniunctissimis fratribus acerbius ac miserius videtur accidere potuisse, minus acerbum, minus miserum fuit, quam fuisset quum congressio, tum vero digressio nostra. 5. Nunc, si potes, id quod ego, qui fortis tibi semper videbar, non possum, erige te et confirma, si qua subeunda dimicatio erit. Spero, si quid mea spes habet auctoritatis, tibi et integritatem tuam, et amorem in te civitatis, et aliquid etiam misericordiam nostri praesidii laturam. Sin eris ab isto periculo vacuus: ages scilicet, si quid agi posse de nobis putabis. De quo scribunt ad me quidem multi multa, et se sperare demonstrant: sed ego, quid sperem, non dispicio, quum inimici plurimum valeant, amici partim deseruerint me, partim etiam prodiderint: qui in meo reditu fortasse reprehensionem sui sceleris pertimescant. Sed ista qualia sint, tu velim perspicias mihique declares. Ego tamen, quamdiu tibi opus erit, si quid periculi subeundum videbis, vivam. Diutius in hac vita esse non possum. Neque enim tantum virium habet ulla aut prudentia aut doctrina, ut tantum dolorem possit sustinere. 6. Scio fuisse et honestius moriendi tempus, et utilius, sed non hoc solum, multa alia praetermisi: quae si queri velim praeterita, nihil agam, nisi ut augeam dolorem tuum, indicem stultitiam meam. Illud quidem nec faciendum est, nec fieri potest, me diutius, quam aut tuum tempus aut firma spes postulabit, in tam misera tamque turpi vita commorari, ut, qui modo fratre fuerim, liberis, coniuge, copiis, genere ipso pecuniae beatissimus, dignitate, auctoritate, existimatione, gratia non inferior, quam qui umquam fuerunt amplissimi: is nunc, in hac tam afflicta perditaque fortuna, neque me neque meos lugere diutius possim. 7. Quare quid ad me scripsisti de permutatione? quasi vero nunc me non tuae facultates sustineant. Qua in re ipsa video miser et sentio, quid sceleris admiserim, quum de visceribus tuis et filii tui satisfacturus sis, quibus debes: ego acceptam ex aerario pecuniam tuo nomine frustra dissiparim. Sed tamen et M. Antonio, quantum tu scripseras, et Caepioni tantumdem solutum est: mihi ad id, quod cogito, hoc, quod habeo, satis est. Sive enim restituimur sive desperamur, nihil amplius

opus est. Tu, si forte quid erit molestiae, te ad Crassum et ad Calidium conferas, censeo. 8. Quantum Hortensio credendum sit, nescio. Me summa simulatione amoris summaque assiduitate quotidiana sceleratissime insidiosissimeque tractavit, adiuncto quoque Arrio: quorum ego consiliis, promissis, praeceptis destitutus, in hanc calamitatem incidi. Sed haec occultabis, ne quid obsint. Illud caveto: et eo puto, per Pomponium fovendum tibi esse ipsum Hortensium, ne ille versus, qui in te erat collatus, quum aedilitatem petebas, de lege Aurelia, falso testimonio confirmetur. Nihil enim tam timeo, quam ne, quum intelligant homines, quantum misericordiae nobis tuae preces et tua salus allatura sit, oppugnent te vehementius. 9. Messalam tui studiosum esse arbitror: Pompeium etiam simulatorem puto. Sed haec utinam ne experiare! quod precarer deos, nisi meas preces audire desissent. Verumtamen precor, ut his infinitis nostris malis contenti sint: in quibus non modo tamen nullius inest peccati infamia, sed omnis dolor est, quod optime factis poena est maxima constituta. 10. Filiam meam et tuam, Ciceronemque nostrum quid ego, mi frater, tibi commendem? Quin illud maereo, quod tibi non minorem dolorem illorum orbitas afferet, quam mihi. Sed, te incolumi, orbi non erunt. Reliqua, ita mihi salus aliqua detur, potestasque in patria moriendi, ut me lacrimae non sinunt scribere. Etiam Terentiam velim tueare, mihique de omnibus rebus rescribas. Sis fortis, quoad rei natura patietur. Idibus Iuniis, Thessalonicae. (*Ad Q. Fr.* I. iii.)

## EPISTOLA XIV.

(Thessalonicae, A.U.C. 696.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Accepi Id. Sext. quattuor epistolas a te missas; unam, qua me obiurgas, ut sim firmior; alteram, qua Crassi libertum ais tibi de mea solicitudine macieque narrasse; tertiam, qua demonstras acta in senatu; quartam de eo, quod a Varrone scribis tibi esse confirmatum de voluntate Pompeii. 2. Ad primam tibi hoc scribo, me ita dolere, ut non modo a mente

non deserar, sed id ipsum doleam, me, tam firma mente ubi utar, et quibuscum, non habere. Nam si tu me uno non sine maerore cares, quid me censes, qui et te et omnibus? et si tu incolumis me requiris, ecquo modo a me ipsam incolumitatem desiderari putas? Nolo commemorare, quibus rebus sim spoliatus, non solum quia non ignoras, sed etiam ne scindam ipse dolorem meum. Hoc confirmo, neque tantis bonis esse privatum quemquam, neque in tantas miserias incidisse. Dies autem non modo non levat luctum hunc, sed etiam auget. Nam ceteri dolores mitigantur vetustate, hic non potest non et sensu praesentis miseriae et recordatione praeteritae vitae quotidie augeri. Desidero enim non mea solum neque meos, sed me ipsum. Quid enim sum? Sed non faciam, ut aut tuum animum angam querelis aut meis vulneribus saepius manus afferam. Nam quod purgas eos, quos ego mihi scripsi invidisse, et in eis Catonem; ego vero tantum illum puto ab isto scelere abfuisse, ut maxime doleam, plus apud me simulationem aliorum, quam istius fidem, valuisse. Ceteri, quos purgas, debent mihi purgati esse, tibi si sunt. 3. Sed haec sero agimus. Crassi libertum nihil puto sincere locutum. In senatu rem probe scribis actam. Sed quid Curio? An illam orationem non legit? quae unde sit prolata, nescio. Sed Axius, eiusdem diei scribens ad me acta, non ita laudat Curionem. At potest ille aliquid praetermittere: tu, nisi quod erat, profecto non scripsisti. Varronis sermo facit exspectationem Caesaris; atque utinam ipse Varro incumbat in caussam! quod profecto quum sua sponte, tum te instante faciet. 4. Ego, si me aliquando vestri et patriae compotem fortuna fecerit, certe efficiam, ut maxime laetere unus ex omnibus amicis; meaque officia et studia, quae parum antea luxerunt, (fatendum est enim,) sic exsequar, ut me aeque tibi, ac fratri, et liberis nostris, restitutum putes. Si quid in te peccavi, ac potius quoniam peccavi, ignosce. In me enim ipsum peccavi vehementius. Neque haec eo scribo, quo te non meo casu maximo dolore esse affectum sciam; sed profecto, si, quantum me amas et amasti, tantum amare deberes ac debuisses, numquam esses passus, me, quo tu abundabas, egere consilio; nec esses passus mihi persuaderi, utile nobis esse, legem de collegiis perferri. Sed tu tantum lacrimas praebuisti dolori meo, quod erat amoris, tamquam ipse ego: quod meritis meis perfectum esse potuit, ut dies et noctes, quid

mihi faciendum esset, cogitares, id abs te, meo, non tuo scelere praetermissum est. Quod si non modo tu, sed quisquam fuisset, qui me, Pompeii minus liberali responso perterritum, a turpissimo consilio revocaret, quod unus tu facere maxime potuisti: aut occubuissem honeste, aut victores hodie viveremus. Hic mihi ignosces. Me enim ipsum multo magis accuso; deinde te, quasi me alterum; et simul meae culpae socium quaero: ac si restituor, etiam videbimur deliquisse, abs teque certe, quoniam nullo nostro, tuo ipsius beneficio diligemur. 5. Quod te cum Culeone scribis de privilegio locutum, est aliquid; sed multo est melius abrogari. Si enim nemo impediet, quid est firmius? Sin erit, qui ferri non sinat; idem senatus consulto intercedet. Nec quidquam aliud opus est abrogari. Nam prior lex nos nihil laedebat. Quam si, ut est promulgata, laudare voluissemus, aut, ut erat negligenda, negligere; nocere omnino nobis non potuisset. Hic mihi primum non modo consilium defuit, sed etiam obfuit. Caeci, caeci, inquam, fuimus, in vestitu mutando, in populo rogando. Quod, nisi nominatim mecum agi coeptum esset, fieri perniciosum fuit. Sed pergo praeterita. Verumtamen ob hanc caussam, ut, si quid agetur, legem illam, in qua popularia multa sunt, ne tangatis. 6. Verum est stultum, me praecipere, quid agatis, aut quo modo. Utinam modo agatur aliquid! In quo ipso multa occultant tuae litterae; credo, ne vehementius desperatione perturber. Quid enim vides agi posse, aut quo modo? Per senatumne? Ast tute perscripsisti ad me, quoddam caput legis Clodium in curiae poste fixisse, ne referri neve dici liceret. Quo modo igitur Domitius se dixit relaturum? Quo modo autem, iis, quos tu scribis, et de re dicentibus, et, ut referretur, postulantibus, Clodius tacuit? Ac, si per populum, poteritne, nisi de omnium tribunorum plebis sententia? Quid de bonis? quid de domo? Poteritne restitui? Aut, si non poterit, egomet quo modo potero? Haec nisi vides expediri, quam in spem me vocas? Sin autem spei nihil est, quae est mihi vita? Itaque exspecto Thessalonicae acta Kal. Sext., ex quibus statuam, in tuosne agros confugiam, ut neque videam homines, quos nolim, et te, ut scribis, videam, et propius sim, si quid agatur; (idque intellexi quum tibi, tum Quinto fratri placere:) an abeam Cyzicum. 7. Nunc, Pomponi, quoniam nihil impertisti tuae prudentiae ad salutem meam, quod aut in me ipso satis esse

consilii decreras, aut te nihil plus mihi debere, quam ut praesto esses; quoniamque ego proditus, inductus, coniectus in fraudem, omnia mea praesidia neglexi; totam Italiam, erectam ad me defendendum, destitui et reliqui; me, meos meis tradidi inimicis, inspectante et tacente te; qui si non plus ingenio valebas, quam ego, certe timebas minus: si potes, erige afflictos, et in eo nos iuva; sin omnia sunt obstructa, id ipsum fac ut sciamus, et nos aliquando aut obiurgare aut comiter consolari desine. Ego si tuam fidem accusarem; non me potissimum tuis tectis crederem: meam amentiam accuso, quod a te tantum amari, quantum ego vellem, putavi: quod si fuisset, fidem eamdem, curam maiorem adhibuisses; me certe ad exitium praecipitantem retinuisses; istos labores, quos nunc in naufragiis nostris suscipis, non subisses. 8. Quare fac, ut omnia ad me perspecta et explorata perscribas, meque, ut facis, velis esse aliquem; quoniam, qui fui, et qui esse potui, iam esse non possum; et ut his litteris non te, sed me ipsum a me esse accusatum putes. Si qui erunt, quibus putes opus esse meo nomine litteras dari, velim conscribas, curesque dandas. Dat. XIV. Kal. Sept. (*Ad Att.* III. XV.)

## EPISTOLA XV.

(Dyrrhachii, A.U.C. 696.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. A. d. V. Kal. Decemb. tres epistolas a te accepi; unam datam a. d. VIII. Kal Novemb., in qua me hortaris, ut forti animo mensem Ianuarium exspectem; eaque, quae ad spem putas pertinere, de Lentuli studio, de Metelli voluntate, de tota Pompeii ratione perscribis. In altera epistola, praeter consuetudinem tuam, diem non ascribis: sed satis significas tempus. Lege enim ab octo tribunis plebis promulgata, scribis te eas litteras eo ipso die dedisse, id est a. d. IV. Kal. Novemb., et quid putes utilitatis eam promulgationem attulisse, scribis. In quo si iam haec nostra salus cum hac lege desperata erit, velim pro tuo in me amore hanc inanem meam diligentiam miserabilem potius, quam ineptam, putes: sin est aliquid spei, des operam, ut maiore diligentia posthac a novis magistratibus defendamur. 2. Nam ea veterum tribu-

norum plebis rogatio tria capita habuit; unum de reditu meo, scriptum incaute. Nihil enim restituitur praeter civitatem et ordinem: quod mihi pro meo casu satis est; sed, quae cavenda fuerint, et quo modo, te non fugit. Alterum caput est tralatitium de impunitate, si quid contra alias leges eius legis ergo factum sit. Tertium caput, mi Pomponi, quo consilio, et a quo sit inculcatum, vide. Scis enim Clodium sanxisse, ut vix aut ut omnino non posset nec per senatum nec per populum infirmari sua lex. Sed vides numquam esse observatas sanctiones earum legum, quae abrogarentur. Nam si id esset, nulla fere abrogari posset: (neque enim ulla est, quae non ipsa se sepiat difficultate abrogationis:) sed, quum lex abrogatur, illud ipsum abrogatur, quo non eam abrogari oporteat. 3. Hoc quum et re vera ita sit, et quum semper ita habitum observatumque sit; octo nostri tribuni plebis caput posuerunt hoc: SI QUID IN HAC ROGATIONE SCRIPTUM EST, QUOD PER LEGES PLEBISVE SCITA [HOC EST, QUOD PER LEGEM CLODIAM] PROMULGARE, ABROGARE, DEROGARE, OBROGARE S. F. SUA NON LICEAT, NON LICUERIT; QUODVE EI, QUI PROMULGAVIT, ABROGAVIT, DEROGAVIT, OBROGAVIT, OB EAM REM POENAE MULCTAEVE SIT E(IUS) H(AC) L(EGE), N(IHIL) R(OGATUM). 4. Atque hoc in illis tribunis plebis non laedebat. Lege enim collegae sui non tenebantur. Quo maior est suspicio malitiae alicuius; quum id, quod ad ipsos nihil pertinebat, erat autem contra me, scripserunt: ut novi tribuni plebis, si essent timidiores, multo magis sibi eo capite utendum putarent. Neque id a Clodio praetermissum est. Dixit enim in concione a. d. III. Non. Nov., hoc capite designatis tribunis plebis praescriptum esse, quid liceret: tamen, in lege nulla esse eiusmodi caput, te non fallit. Quod si opus esset, omnes in abrogando uterentur. Ut Ninnium aut ceteros fugerit, investiges velim: et, quis attulerit; et, quare octo tribuni plebis ad senatum de me referre non dubitarint; sive, quod observandum illud caput non putabant, iidem in abrogando tam cauti fuerint, ut id metuerent, soluti quum essent; quod ne iis quidem, qui lege tenentur, est curandum. Id caput sane nolim novos tribunos plebis ferre: sed perferant modo quod libet: uno capite, quo revocabor, (modo res conficiatur,) ero contentus. Iam dudum pudet, tam multa scribere. Vereor enim, ne, re iam desperata, legas; ut haec mea diligentia miserabilis tibi, aliis irridenda videatur. Sed si est

aliquid in spe, vide legem, quam T. Fadio scripsit Visellius: ea mihi perplacet. Nam Sextii nostri, quam tu tibi probari scribis, mihi non placet. 5. Tertia est epistola prid. Id. Novemb. data: in qua exponis prudenter et diligenter, quae sint, quae rem distinere videantur; de Crasso, de Pompeio, de ceteris. Quare oro te, ut, si qua spes erit, posse studiis bonorum, auctoritate, multitudine comparata rem confici, des operam, ut uno impetu perfringatur; in eam rem incumbas ceterosque excites. Sin, ut ego perspicio quum tua coniectura, tum etiam mea, spei nihil est; oro obtestorque te, ut Quintum fratrem ames, quem ego miserum misere perdidi; neve quid eum patiare gravius consulere de se, quam expediat sororis tuae filio. Meum Ciceronem, cui nihil misello relinquo, praeter invidiam et ignominiam nominis mei, tuere, quoad poteris; Terentiam, unam omnium aerumnosissimam, sustentes tuis officiis. Ego in Epirum proficiscar, quum primorum dierum nuntios excepero. Tu ad me, velim, proximis litteris, ut se initia dederint, perscribas. Dat. prid. Kal. Decemb. (*Ad Att.* III. xxiii.)

## EPISTOLA XVI.

(A.U.C. 697.)

## M. C. S. D. Q. METELLO NEPOTI COS.

1. Litterae Quinti fratris et T. Pomponii, necessarii mei, tantum spei dederant, ut in te non minus auxilii, quam in tuo collega mihi constitutum fuerit. Itaque litteras ad te statim misi, per quas, ut fortuna postulabat, et gratias tibi egi et de reliquo tempore auxilium petii. Postea mihi non tam meorum litterae, quam sermones eorum, qui hac iter faciebant, animum tuum immutatum significabant: quae res fecit, ut tibi litteris obstrepere non auderem. 2. Nunc mihi Quintus frater meus mitissimam tuam orationem, quam in senatu habuisses, perscripsit, qua inductus, ad te scribere sum conatus et abs te, quantum tua fert voluntas, peto quaesoque, ut tuos mecum serves potius, quam propter arrogantem crudelitatem tuorum me oppugnes. Tu tuas inimicitias ut reipublicae donares, te vicisti; alienas ut contra rempublicam confirmes, adduceris? Quod si mihi tua clementia opem tuleris, omnibus

in rebus me fore in tua potestate, tibi confirmo: sin mihi neque magistratum neque senatum neque populum auxiliari propter eam vim, quae me cum republica vicit, licuerit: vide, ne, quum velis revocare tempus omnium servandorum, quum, qui servetur, non erit, non possis. [Vale.] (*Ad Div.* V. iv.)

## EPISTOLA XVII.

(Romae, A.U.C. 697.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Quum primum Romam veni, fuitque, cui recte ad te litteras darem, nihil prius faciendum mihi putavi, quam ut tibi absenti de reditu nostro gratularer. Cognoram enim (ut vere scribam), te in consiliis mihi dandis nec fortiorem, nec prudentiorem, quam me ipsum, nec etiam pro praeterita mea in te observantia nimium in custodia salutis meae diligentem, eumdemque te, qui primis temporibus erroris nostri, aut potius furoris, particeps et falsi timoris socius fuisses, acerbissime discidium nostrum tulisse, plurimumque operae, studii, diligentiae, laboris ad conficiendum reditum meum contulisse. 2. Itaque hoc tibi vere affirmo, in maxima laetitia et exoptatissima gratulatione unum ad cumulandum gaudium conspectum aut potius complexum mihi tuum defuisse; quem semel nactus numquam dimisero: ac, nisi etiam praetermissos fructus tuae suavitatis praeteriti temporis omnes exegero, profecto hac restitutione fortunae me ipse non satis dignum iudicabo. 3. Nos adhuc in nostro statu, quod difficillime recuperari posse arbitrati sumus, splendorem nostrum illum forensem et in senatu auctoritatem et apud viros bonos gratiam, magis, quam optaramus, consecuti sumus. In re autem familiari, quae quemadmodum fracta, dissipata, direpta sit, non ignoras, valde laboramus, tuarumque non tam facultatum, quas ego nostras esse iudico, quam consiliorum ad colligendas et constituendas reliquias nostras indigemus. 4. Nunc, etsi omnia aut scripta esse a tuis arbitror aut etiam nuntiis ac rumore perlata, tamen ea scribam brevi, quae te puto potissimum ex meis litteris velle cognoscere. Pridie Nonas Sext. Dyrrhachio sum profectus, ipso illo die, quo lex

est lata de nobis. Brundisium veni Nonis Sext. Ibi mihi Tulliola mea fuit praesto, natali suo ipso die, qui casu idem natalis erat et Brundisinae coloniae et tuae vicinae Salutis: quae res, animadversa a multitudine, summa Brundisinorum gratulatione celebrata est. Ante diem VI. Id. Sext. cognovi, quum Brundisii essem, litteris Quinti fratris, mirifico studio omnium aetatum atque ordinum, incredibili concursu Italiae, legem comitiis centuriatis esse perlatam. Inde, a Brundisinis honestissimis ornatus, iter ita feci, ut undique ad me cum gratulatione legati convenerint. 5. Ad Urbem ita veni, ut nemo ullius ordinis homo nomenclatori notus fuerit, qui mihi obviam non venerit, praetor eos inimicos, quibus id ipsum non liceret aut dissimulare aut negare. Quum venissem ad portam Capenam, gradus templorum ab infima plebe completi erant: a qua plausu maximo quum esset mihi gratulatio significata, similis et frequentia et plausus me usque ad Capitolium celebravit: in foroque et in ipso Capitolio miranda multitudo fuit. Postridie in senatu, qui fuit dies Non. Septemb., senatui gratias egimus. 6. Eo biduo quum esset annonae summa caritas, et homines ad theatrum primo, deinde ad senatum concurrissent, impulsu Clodii, mea opera frumenti inopiam esse clamarent, quum per eos dies senatus de annona haberetur, et ad eius procurationem sermone non solum plebis, verum etiam bonorum Pompeius vocaretur, idque ipse cuperet, multitudoque a me nominatim, ut id decernerem, postularet: feci, et accurate sententiam dixi, quum abessent consulares, quod tuto se negarent posse sententiam dicere, praeter Messallam et Afranium. Factum est senatus consultum in meam sententiam, ut cum Pompeio ageretur, ut eam rem susciperet lexque ferretur. Quo senatus consulto recitato, quum continuo—more hoc insulso et novo—plausum meo nomine recitando dedisset; habui concionem: omnes magistratus praesentes praeter unum praetorem et duos tribunos plebis dederunt. 7. Postridie senatus frequens et omnes consulares nihil Pompeio postulanti negarunt. Ille legatos quindecim quum postularet, me principem nominavit et ad omnia me alterum se fore dixit. Legem consules conscripserunt, qua Pompeio per quinquennium omnis potestas rei frumentariae toto orbe terrarum daretur: alteram Messius, qui omnis pecuniae dat potestatem, et adiungit classem et exercitum, et maius imperium in provinciis, quam sit eorum,

qui eas obtineant. Illa nostra lex consularis nunc modesta videtur; haec Messii non ferenda. Pompeius illam velle se dicit, familiares hanc. Consulares, duce Favonio, fremunt; nos tacemus, et eo magis, quod de domo nostra nihil adhuc pontifices responderunt. Qui si sustulerint religionem, aream praeclaram habebimus, superficiem consules ex senatus consulto aestimabunt: sin aliter, demolientur; suo nomine locabunt, rem totam aestimabunt. Ita sunt res nostrae; ut in secundis, fluxae; ut in adversis, bonae. In re familiari valde sumus, ut scis, perturbati. Praeterea sunt quaedam domestica, quae litteris non committo. Quintum fratrem, insigni pietate, virtute, fide praeditum, sic amo, ut debeo. Te exspecto; et oro, ut matures venire, eoque animo venias, ut me tuo consilio egere non sinas. Alterius vitae quoddam initium ordimur. Iam quidam, qui nos absentes defenderunt, incipiunt praesentibus occulte irasci, aperte invidere. Vehementer te requirimus. (*Ad Att.* IV. i.)

## EPISTOLA XVIII.

(Romae, A.U.C. 697.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Si forte rarius tibi a me, quam a ceteris, litterae redduntur, peto a te, ut id non modo negligentiae meae, sed ne occupationi quidem tribuas: quae etsi summa est, tamen nulla esse potest tanta, ut interrumpat iter amoris nostri et officii mei. Nam ut veni Romam, iterum nunc sum certior factus, esse, cui darem litteras: itaque has alteras dedi. Prioribus tibi declaravi, adventus noster qualis fuisset, et quis esset status, atque omnes res nostrae quemadmodum essent, ut in secundis, fluxae, ut in adversis, bonae. 2. Post illas datas litteras secuta est summa contentio de domo. Diximus apud pontifices pridie Kal. Octobres. Acta res est accurate a nobis, et, si umquam in dicendo fuimus aliquid, aut etiam, si umquam alias fuimus, tum profecto dolor et magnitudo vim quamdam nobis dicendi dedit. Itaque oratio iuventuti nostrae deberi non potest; quam tibi, etiamsi non desideras, tamen mittam cito. 3. Quum pontifices decressent, ita, SI NEQUE POPULI IUSSU NEQUE PLEBIS SCITU IS, QUI SE

DEDICASSE DICERET, NOMINATIM EI REI PRAEFECTUS ESSET, NEQUE POPULI JUSSU AUT PLEBIS SCITU ID FACERE IUSSUS ESSET, VIDERI, POSSE SINE RELIGIONE EAM PARTEM AREAE MI RESTITUI; mihi facta statim est gratulatio:—nemo enim dubitabat, quin domus nobis esset adiudicata.—Tum subito ille in concionem ascendit, quam Appius ei dedit. Nuntiat iam populo, pontifices secundum se decrevisse; me autem vi conari in possessionem venire. Hortatur, ut se et Appium sequantur et suam Libertatem ut defendant. Hic quum etiam illi infimi partim admirarentur, partim irriderent hominis amentiam; ego statueram illuc non accedere, nisi quum consules ex senatus consulto porticum Catuli restituendam locassent. 4. Kal. Octob. habetur senatus frequens. Adhibentur omnes pontifices, qui erant senatores. A quibus Marcellinus, qui erat cupidissimus mei, sententiam primus rogatus, quaesivit, quid essent in decernendo secuti. Tum M. Lucullus de omnium collegarum sententia respondit, religionis iudices pontifices fuisse, legis senatum: se et collegas suos de religione statuisse, in senatu de lege statuturos. Quisque horum, loco sententiam rogatus, multa secundum caussam nostram disputavit. Quum ad Clodium ventum est, cupiit diem consumere, neque ei finis est factus: sed tamen, quum horas tris fere dixisset, odio et strepitu senatus coactus est aliquando perorare. Quum fieret senatus consultum in sententiam Marcellini, omnibus praeter unum assentientibus, Serranus intercessit. De intercessione statim ambo consules referre coeperunt. Quum sententiae gravissimae dicerentur: senatui placere, mihi domum restitui, porticum Catuli locari, auctoritatem ordinis ab omnibus magistratibus defendi; si quae vis esset facta, senatum existimaturum, eius opera factum esse, qui senatus consulto intercessisset: Serranus pertimuit et Cornicinus ad suam veterem fabulam rediit: abiecta toga, se ad generi pedes abiecit. Ille noctem sibi postulavit: non concedebant. Reminiscebantur enim Kal. Ianuar. Vix tamen de mea voluntate concessum est. 5. Postridie senatus consultum factum est id, quod ad te misi. Deinde consules porticum Catuli restituendam locarunt: illam porticum redemptores statim sunt demoliti libentissimis omnibus. Nobis superficiem aedium consules de consilii sententia aestimarunt H-S vicies; cetera valde illiberaliter: Tusculanam villam quingentis millibus: Formianum H-S ducentis quinquaginta

millibus. Quae aestimatio non modo vehementer ab optimo quoque, sed etiam a plebe reprehenditur. Dices, quid igitur caussae fuit? Dicunt illi quidem, pudorem meum; quod neque negarim neque vehementius postularim. Sed non est id: nam hoc quidem etiam profuisset. Verum iidem, mi T. Pomponi, iidem, inquam, illi, quos ne tu quidem ignoras, qui mihi pinnas inciderant, nolunt easdem renasci. Sed, ut spero, iam renascuntur. Tu modo ad nos veni: quod vereor ne tardius interventu Varronis tui nostrique facias. 6. Quoniam, acta quae sint, habes, de reliqua nostra cogitatione cognosce. Ego me [a] Pompeio legari ita sum passus, ut nulla re impedirer, quin, si vellem, mihi esset integrum, aut, si comitia censorum proximi consules haberent, petere [posse] aut votivam legationem suscipere prope omnium fanorum, lucorum. Sic enim nostrae rationes postulabant. Sed volui meam potestatem esse vel petendi, vel ineunte aestate exeundi; et, interea me esse in oculis civium, de me optime meritorum, non alienum putavi. 7. Ac forensium quidem rerum haec nostra consilia sunt, domesticarum autem valde impedita. Domus aedificatur. Scis, quo sumptu, qua molestia reficiatur Formianum; quod ego nec relinquere possum, nec videre. Tusculanum proscripsi; suburbano non facile careo. Amicorum benignitas exhausta est in ea re, quae nihil habuit praeter dedecus; (quod sensisti tu absens;) quorum studiis ego et copiis, si esset per meos defensores licitum, facile essem omnia consecutus. Quo in genere nunc vehementer laboratur. Cetera, quae me sollicitant, μυστικώτερα sunt. Amamur a fratre et a filia. Te exspectamus. (*Ad Att.* IV. ii.)

## EPISTOLA XIX.

(Romae, A.U.C. 697.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Avere te certo scio, quum scire, quid hic agatur, tum mea a me scire; non quo certiora sint ea, quae in oculis omnium geruntur, si a me scribantur, quam quum ab aliis aut scribuntur tibi aut nuntiantur; verum ut perspicias ex meis litteris, quo animo ea feram, quae geruntur: et qui sit hoc tempore aut mentis meae sensus, aut omnino vitae status. 2.

Armatis hominibus ante diem tertium Non. Novemb. expulsi sunt fabri de area nostra, disturbata porticus Catuli, quae ex senatus consulto consulum locatione reficiebatur et ad tectum paene pervenerat. Quinti fratris domus primo fracta coniectu lapidum ex area nostra, deinde inflammata iussu Clodii, inspectante Urbe, coniectis ignibus, magna querela et gemitu, non dicam bonorum, qui nescio an nulli sint, sed plane hominum omnium. Ille vehemens ruere: post hunc furorem nihil nisi caedem inimicorum cogitare; vicatim ambire; servis aperte spem libertatis ostendere. Etenim antea, quum iudicium tollebat, habebat ille quidem difficilem manifestamque caussam, sed tamen caussam. Poterat infitiari, poterat in alios derivare, poterat etiam aliquid iure factum defendere. Post has ruinas, incendia, rapinas, desertus a suis, vix iam Decimum designatorem, vix Gellium retinet: servorum consiliis utitur: videt, si omnes, quos vult, palam occiderit, nihilo suam caussam difficiliorem, quam adhuc sit, in iudicio futuram. 3. Itaque ante diem tertium Idus Novemb., quum Sacra via descenderem, insecutus est me cum suis. Clamor, lapides, fustes, gladii, haec inprovisa omnia. Discessimus in vestibulum Tettii Damionis. Qui erant mecum, facile operas aditu prohibuerunt. Ipse occidi potuit. Sed ego diaeta curari incipio: chirurgiae taedet. Ille omnium vocibus quum se non ad iudicium, sed ad supplicium praesens trudi videret, omnes Catilinas, Acidinos postea reddidit. Nam Milonis domum, eam, quae in Germalo, pridie Idus Novemb. expugnare et incendere ita conatus est, ut palam hora v. cum scutis homines, eductis gladiis, alios cum accensis facibus adduxerit. Ipse domum P. Sullae pro castris sibi ad eam impugnationem sumpserat. Tum ex Anniana Milonis domo Q. Flaccus eduxit viros acres; occidit homines ex omni latrocinio Clodiano notissimos: ipsum cupivit; sed ille se in interiora aedium. Sulla in senatu postridie Idus: domi Clodius: egregius Marcellinus, omnes acres. Metellus calumnia dicendi tempus exemit, adiuvante Appio, etiam hercule familiari tuo; de cuius constantia et virtute tuae verissimae litterae. Sextius furere. Ille postea, si comitia sua non fierent, Urbi minari. Proposita Marcellini sententia, quam ille de scripto ita dixerat, ut totam nostram caussam areae, incendiorum, periculi mei iudicia complecteretur, eaque omnia comitiis anteferret: proscripsit Sestius, se per omnes

dies comitiales de caelo servaturum. 4. Conciones turbulentae Metelli, temerariae Appii, furiosissimae Publii. Haec tamen summa: nisi Milo in campum obnuntiasset, comitia futura. Ante diem XII. Kal. Decemb. Milo media nocte cum magna manu in campum venit. Clodius, quum haberet fugitivorum delectas copias, in campum ire non est ausus. Milo permansit ad meridiem mirifica hominum laetitia, summa cum gloria; contentio fratrum trium turpis, fracta vis, contemptus furor. Metellus tamen postulat, ut sibi postero die in foro obnuntietur: nihil esse, quod in campum nocte veniretur: se hora prima in comitio fore. Itaque ante diem XI. Kal. in comitium Milo de nocte venit. Metellus cum prima luce furtim in campum itineribus prope deviis currebat: assequitur inter lucos hominem Milo; obnuntiat. Ille se recepit, magno et turpi Q. Flacci convicio. Ante diem X. Kal. nundinae. Concio biduo nulla. 5. Ante diem VIII. Kal. haec ego scribebam hora noctis nona. Milo campum iam tenebat. Marcellus candidatus ita stertebat, ut ego vicinus audirem. Clodii vestibulum vacuum sane mihi nuntiabatur. Pauci pannosi, linea laterna. Meo consilio omnia illi fieri querebantur, ignari, quantum in illo heroe esset animi, quantum etiam consilii. Miranda virtus est. Nova quaedam divina mitto. Sed haec summa est. Comitia fore non arbitror. Reum Publium, nisi ante occisus erit, fore a Milone puto: si se inter viam obtulerit, occisum iri ab ipso Milone video. Non dubitat facere: prae se fert; casum illum nostrum non extimescit. Numquam enim cuiusquam invidi et perfidi consilio est usus, nec inerti nobili crediturus. 6. Nos animo dumtaxat vigemus, etiam magis, quam quum florebamus: re familiari comminuti sumus. Quinti fratris tamen liberalitati, pro facultatibus nostris, ne omnino exhaustus esset, illo recusante, subsidiis amicorum respondemus. Quid consilii de omni nostro statu capiamus, te absente nescimus. Quare appropera. (*Ad Att.* IV. iii.)

## EPISTOLA XX.

(Romae, A.U.C. 698.)

## M. T. C. S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Ego omni officio ac potius pietate erga te ceteris satisfacio omnibus, mihi ipsi numquam satisfacio. Tanta enim magnitudo est tuorum erga me meritorum, ut, quoniam tu, nisi perfecta re, de me non conquiesti, ego non idem in tua caussa efficio, vitam mihi esse acerbam putem. In caussa haec sunt. Ammonius, regis legatus, aperte pecunia nos oppugnat. Res agitur per eosdem creditores, per quos, quum tu aderas, agebatur. Regis caussa, si qui sunt, qui velint, qui pauci sunt, omnes rem ad Pompeium deferri volunt. Senatus religionis calumniam non religione, sed malevolentia et illius regiae largitionis invidia comprobat. 2. Pompeium et hortari et orare et iam liberius accusare et monere, ut magnam infamiam fugiat, non desistimus. Sed plane nec precibus nostris, nec admonitionibus reliquit locum. Nam quum in sermone quotidiano, tum in senatu palam sic egit caussam tuam, ut neque eloquentia maiore quisquam, neque gravitate, nec studio, nec contentione agere potuerit, cum summa testificatione tuorum in se officiorum et amoris erga te sui. Marcellinum regi esse iratum scis. Is, hac regia caussa excepta, ceteris in rebus se acerrimum tui defensorem fore ostendit. Quod dat, accipimus: quod instituit referre de religione et saepe iam retulit, ab eo deduci non potest. 3. Res ante Idus acta sic est. (Nam haec Idibus mane scripsi.) Hortensii et mea et Luculli sententia cedit religioni de exercitu, (teneri enim res aliter non potest,) sed ex illo senatusconsulto, quod te referente factum est, tibi decernit, ut regem reducas: quod commode facere possis: ut exercitum religio tollat, te auctorem senatus retineat. Crassus tres legatos decernit, nec excludit Pompeium: censet enim etiam ex iis, qui cum imperio sint: M. Bibulus tres legatos decernit ex iis, qui privati sint. Huic assentiuntur reliqui consulares praeter Servilium, qui omnino reduci negat oportere, et Volcatium, qui, Lupo referente, Pompeio decernit, et Afranium, qui assentitur Volcatio: quae res auget suspicionem Pompeii

voluntatis: nam advertebatur Pompeii familiares assentire Volcatio. Laboratur vehementer: inclinata res est. Libonis et Hypsaei non obscura concursatio et contentio, omniumque Pompeii familiarum studium in eam opinionem rem adduxerunt, ut Pompeius cupere videatur: cui qui nolunt, iidem tibi, quod eum ornasti, non sunt amici. 4. Nos in caussa auctoritatem eo minorem habemus, quod tibi debemus. Gratiam autem nostram exstinguit hominum suspicio, quod Pompeio se gratificari putant. Ut in rebus multo ante, quam profectus es, ab ipso rege et ab intimis ac domesticis Pompeii clam exulceratis, deinde palam a consularibus exagitatis et in summam invidiam adductis, ita versamur. Nostram fidem omnes, amorem tui absentis praesentes tui cognoscent. Si esset in iis fides, in quibus summa esse debebat, non laboraremus. Vale. (*Ad Div.* I. i.)

## EPISTOLA XXI.

(Romae, A.U.C. 698.)

### M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI.

1. Scripsi ad te antea superiora: nunc cognosce, postea quae sint acta. A. Kal. Febr. legationes in Idus Febr. reiiciebantur. Eo die res confecta non est. A. d. IV. Non. Febr. Milo adfuit. Ei Pompeius advocatus venit. Dixit Marcellus, a me rogatus. Honeste discessimus. Producta dies est in IV. Id. Febr. Interim reiectis legationibus in Idus, referebatur de provinciis quaestorum et de ornandis praetoribus. Sed res, multis querelis de republica interponendis, nulla transacta est. Cato legem promulgavit de imperio Lentuli abrogando. Vestitum filius mutavit. 2. A. d. VIII. Id. Febr. Milo adfuit. Dixit Pompeius, sive voluit: nam, ut surrexit, operae Clodianae clamorem sustulerunt: idque ei perpetua oratione contigit, non modo ut acclamatione, sed ut convicio et maledictis impediretur. Qui ut peroravit: nam in eo sane fortis fuit: non est deterritus, dixit omnia: atque interdum etiam silentio: cum auctoritate peregerat: sed ut peroravit, surrexit Clodius. Ei tantus clamor a nostris, (placuerat enim referre gratiam,) ut neque mente neque

lingua neque ore consisteret. Ea res acta est, quum H. vi. vix Pompeius perorasset, usque ad H. viii., quum omnia maledicta, versus etiam obscenissimi in Clodium et Clodiam dicerentur. Ille furens et exsanguis interrogabat suos, in clamore ipso, quis esset, qui plebem fame necaret. Respondebant operae, Pompeius. Quis Alexandriam ire cuperet. Respondebant, Pompeius. Quem ire vellent. Respondebant, Crassum. Is aderat tum, Miloni animo non amico. H. fere ix., quasi signo dato, Clodiani nostros consputare coeperunt. Exarsit dolor. Urgere illi, ut loco nos moverent. Factus est a nostris impetus: fuga operarum. Eiectus de rostris Clodius: ac nos quoque tum fugimus, ne quid in turba. Senatus vocatus in curiam: Pompeius domum. Neque ego tamen in senatum, ne aut de tantis rebus tacerem, aut in Pompeio defendendo (nam is carpebatur a Bibulo, Curione, Favonio, Servilio filio,) animos bonorum virorum offenderem. Res in posterum dilata est. Clodius in Quirinalia produxit diem. 3. A. d. vi. Id. Febr. senatus ad Apollinis fuit, ut Pompeius adesset. Acta res est graviter a Pompeio. Eo die nihil perfectum est. A. d. v. Id. ad Apollinis senatus consultum factum est, EA, QUAE FACTA ESSENT A. D. VIII. ID., CONTRA REMPUBLICAM ESSE FACTA. Eo die Cato est vehementer in Pompeium invectus, et eum oratione perpetua tamquam reum accusavit. De me multa, me invito, cum mea summa laude dixit. Quum illius in me perfidiam increparet, auditus est magno silentio malevolorum. Respondit ei vehementer Pompeius Crassumque descripsit: dixitque aperte, se munitiorem ad custodiendam vitam suam fore, quam Africanus fuisset; quem C. Carbo interemisset. 4. Itaque magnae mihi res iam moveri videbantur. Nam Pompeius haec intelligit, nobiscumque communicat, insidias vitae suae fieri: C. Catonem a Crasso sustentari: Clodio pecuniam suppeditari: utrumque et ab eo, et a Curione, Bibulo ceterisque suis obtrectatoribus confirmari: vehementer esse providendum, ne opprimatur, concionario illo populo a se prope alienato, nobilitate inimica, non aequo senatu, iuventute improba. Itaque se comparat, homines ex agris arcessit. Operas autem suas Clodius confirmat. Manus ad Quirinalia paratur: in eo multo sumus superiores ipsius copiis. Sed magna manus ex Piceno et Gallia exspectatur, ut etiam Catonis rogationibus de Milone et Lentulo resistamus. 5. A. d. iv.

Id. Febr. Sextius ab indice Cn. Nerio, Pupinia, de ambitu est postulatus, et eodem die a quodam M. Tullio de vi. Is erat aeger. Domum (ut debuimus) ad eum statim venimus, eique nos totos tradidimus: idque fecimus praeter hominum opinionem, qui nos ei iure succensere putabant; ut humanissimi gratissimique et ipsi et omnibus videremur; itaque faciemus. Sed idem Nerius index edidit ad allegatos, Cn. Lentulum Vacciam et C. Cornelium. Eodem die senatus consultum factum est, UT SODALITATES DECURIATIQUE DISCEDERENT: LEXQUE DE IIS FERRETUR, UT, QUI NON DISCESSISSENT, EA POENA, QUAE EST DE VI, TENERENTUR. 6. A. d. III. Id. dixi pro Bestia de ambitu apud praetorem Cn. Domitium in foro medio maximo conventu: incidique in eum locum in dicendo, quum Sextius, multis in templo Castoris vulneribus acceptis, subsidio Bestiae servatus esset. Hic προῳκονομησάμην quiddam εὐκαίρως de his, quae in Sextium apparabantur crimina, et eum ornavi veris laudibus, magno assensu omnium. Res homini fuit vehementer grata. Quae tibi eo scribo, quod me de retinenda Sextii gratia litteris saepe monuisti. 7. Prid. Id. haec scripsi ante lucem. Eo die apud Pomponium in eius nuptiis eram caenaturus. Cetera sunt in rebus nostris huiusmodi (ut tu mihi fere diffidenti praedicabas) plena dignitatis et gratiae: quae quidem tua, mi frater, prudentia, patientia, virtute, pietate, suavitate etiam, tibi mihique sunt restituta. Domus tibi ad lucum Pisonis Liciniana conducta est. Sed, ut spero, paucis mensibus post Kalend. Quint. in tuam commigrabis. Tuam in Carinis mundi habitatores Lamiae conduxerunt. A te post illam Olbiensem epistolam nullas litteras accepi. Quid agas et ut te oblectes, scire cupio, maximeque teipsum videre quamprimum. Cura, mi frater, ut valeas: et quamquam est hiems, tamen Sardiniam istam esse cogites. XV. Kalend. Mart. (*Ad Q. Fr.* II. iii.)

## EPISTOLA XXII.

(Romae, A.U.C. 698.)

### M. C. S. D. L. LUCCEIO Q. F.

.. Coram me tecum eadem haec agere saepe conantem deterruit pudor quidam paene subrusticus; quae nunc expromam absens audacius. Epistola enim non erubescit. Ardeo cupiditate incredibili, neque, ut ego arbitror, reprehendenda, nomen ut nostrum scriptis illustretur et celebretur tuis. Quod etsi mihi saepe ostendis te esse facturum, tamen ignoscas velim huic festinationi meae. Genus enim scriptorum tuorum, etsi erat semper a me vehementer exspectatum, tamen vicit opinionem meam meque ita vel cepit vel incendit, ut cuperem quam celerrime res nostras monumentis commendari tuis. Neque enim me solum commemoratio posteritatis ad spem quamdam immortalitatis rapit, sed etiam illa cupiditas, ut vel auctoritate testimonii tui, vel iudicio benevolentiae, vel suavitate ingenii, vivi perfruamur. 2. Neque tamen, haec quum scribebam, eram nescius, quantis oneribus premerere susceptarum rerum et iam institutarum; sed quia videbam, *Italici belli et civilis historiam* iam a te paene esse perfectam: dixeras autem mihi, te reliquas res ordiri: deesse mihi nolui, quin te admonerem, ut cogitares, coniunctene malles cum reliquis rebus nostra contexere, an, ut multi Graeci fecerunt, Callisthenes Troicum bellum, Timaeus Pyrrhi, Polybius Numantinum, (qui omnes a perpetuis suis historiis ea, quae dixi, bella separaverunt,) tu quoque item civilem coniurationem ab hostilibus externisque bellis seiungeres. Equidem ad nostram laudem non multum video interesse; sed ad properationem meam quiddam interest, non te exspectare, dum ad locum venias, ac statim caussam illam totam et tempus arripere. Et simul, si uno in argumento unaque in persona mens tua tota versabitur: cerno iam animo, quanto omnia uberiora atque ornatiora futura sint. Neque tamen ignoro, quam impudenter faciam, qui primum tibi tantum oneris imponam, (potest enim mihi denegare occupatio tua,) deinde etiam, ut ornes mea, postulem. Quid, si illa tibi non tanto opere videntur ornanda? 3. Sed tamen, qui semel verecundiae fines transierit, eum

bene et naviter oportet esse impudentem. Itaque te plane etiam rogo, ut et ornes ea vehementius etiam, quam fortasse sentis, et in eo leges historiae negligas gratiamque illam, de qua suavissime quodam in prooemio scripsisti, a qua te flecti non magis potuisse demonstras, quam Herculem Xenophontium illum a voluptate, si me tibi vehementius commendabit, ne aspernere, amorique nostro plusculum etiam, quam concedat veritas, largiare. Quod si te adducemus, ut hoc suscipias, erit, ut mihi persuadeo, materies digna facultate et copia tua. 4. A principio enim coniurationis usque ad reditum nostrum videtur mihi modicum quoddam corpus confici posse: in quo et illa poteris uti civilium commutationum scientia vel in explicandis caussis rerum novarum vel in remediis incommodorum, quum et reprehendes ea, quae vituperanda duces, et, quae placebunt, exponendis rationibus comprobabis, et, si liberius, ut consuesti, agendum putabis, multorum in nos perfidiam, insidias, proditionem notabis. Multam etiam casus nostri tibi varietatem in scribendo suppeditabunt, plenam cuiusdam voluptatis, quae vehementer animos hominum in legendo tenere possit. Nihil est enim aptius ad delectationem lectoris, quam temporum varietates fortunaeque vicissitudines: quae etsi nobis optabiles in experiendo non fuerunt, in legendo tamen erunt iucundae. Habet enim praeteriti doloris secura recordatio delectationem. 5. Ceteris vero, nulla perfunctis propria molestia, casus autem alienos sine ullo dolore intuentibus, etiam ipsa misericordia est iucunda. Quem enim nostrum ille moriens apud Mantineam Epaminondas non cum quadam miseratione delectat? qui tum denique sibi avelli iubet spiculum, posteaquam ei percontanti dictum est, clypeum esse salvum, ut etiam in vulneris dolore aequo animo cum laude moreretur. Cuius studium in legendo non erectum Themistocli fuga redituque tenetur? Etenim ordo ipse annalium mediocriter nos retinet, quasi enumeratione fastorum. At viri saepe excellentis ancipites variique casus habent admirationem, exspectationem, laetitiam, molestiam, spem, timorem: si vero exitu notabili concluduntur, expletur animus iucundissima lectionis voluptate. 6. Quo mihi acciderit optatius, si in hac sententia fueris, ut a continentibus tuis scriptis, in quibus perpetuam rerum gestarum historiam complecteris, secernas hanc quasi fabulam rerum eventorumque nostrorum: habet enim varios

actus multasque actiones et consiliorum et temporum. Ac non vereor, ne assentatiuncula quadam aucupari tuam gratiam videar, quum hoc demonstrem, me a te potissimum ornari celebrarique velle. Neque enim tu is es, qui, qui sis, nescias, et qui non eos magis, qui te non admirentur, invidos, quam eos, qui laudent, assentatores arbitrere: neque autem ego sum ita demens, ut me sempiternae gloriae per eum commendari velim, qui non ipse quoque in me commendando propriam ingenii gloriam consequatur. 7. Neque enim Alexander ille gratiae caussa ab Apelle potissimum pingi et a Lysippo fingi volebat; sed quod illorum artem quum ipsis, tum etiam sibi gloriae fore putabat. Atque illi artifices corporis simulacra ignotis nota faciebant: quae vel si nulla sint, nihilo sint tamen obscuriores clari viri. Nec minus est Spartiates Agesilaus ille perhibendus, qui neque pictam neque fictam imaginem suam passus est esse, quam qui in eo genere elaborarunt. Unus enim Xenophontis libellus in eo rege laudando facile omnes imagines omnium statuasque superavit. Atque hoc praestantius mihi fuerit et ad laetitiam animi et ad memoriae dignitatem, si in tua scripta pervenero, quam si in ceterorum, quod non ingenium mihi solum suppeditatum fuerit tuum, sicut Timoleonti a Timaeo, aut ab Herodoto Themistocli, sed etiam auctoritas clarissimi et spectatissimi viri, et in republica maximis gravissimisque caussis cogniti atque in primis probati: ut mihi non solum praeconium, quod, quum in Sigaeum venisset Alexander, ab Homero Achilli tributum esse dixit, sed etiam grave testimonium impertitum clari hominis magnique videatur. Placet enim Hector ille mihi Naevianus, qui non tantum *laudari* se laetatur, sed addit etiam, *a laudato viro*. 8. Quod si a te non impetro, hoc est, si quae te res impedierit, (neque enim fas esse arbitror, quidquam me rogantem abs te non impetrare,) cogar fortasse facere, quod nonnulli saepe reprehenderunt: scribam ipse de me: multorum tamen exemplo et clarorum virorum. Sed, quod te non fugit, haec sunt in hoc genere vitia. Et verecundius ipsi de sese scribant necesse est, si quid est laudandum, et praetereant, si quid reprehendendum est. Accedit etiam, ut minor sit fides, minor auctoritas, multi denique reprehendant et dicant, verecundiores esse praecones ludorum gymnicorum, qui, quum ceteris coronas imposuerint victoribus eorumque nomina magna voce pronuntiarint, quum ipsi ante ludorum

missionem corona donentur, alium praeconem adhibeant, ne sua voce ipsi se victores esse praedicent. 9. Haec nos vitare cupimus et, si recipis caussam nostram, vitabimus; idque ut facias, rogamus. Ac ne forte mirere, cur, quum mihi saepe ostenderis, te accuratissime nostrorum temporum consilia atque eventus litteris mandaturum, a te id nunc tanto opere et tam multis verbis petamus: illa nos cupiditas incendit, de qua initio scripsi, festinationis, quod alacres animo sumus; ut et ceteri, viventibus nobis, ex libris tuis nos cognoscant, et nosmetipsi vivi gloriola nostra perfruamur. 10. His de rebus quid acturus sis, si tibi non est molestum, rescribas mihi velim. Si enim suscipis caussam, conficiam commentarios rerum omnium: sin autem differs me in tempus aliud, coram tecum loquar. Tu interea non cessabis, et ea, quae habes instituta, perpolies nosque diliges. [Vale.] (*Ad Div.* V. xii.)

## EPISTOLA XXIII.

(Romae, A.U.C. 698.)

### M. T. C. S. D. P. LENTULO PROCOS.

1. Legi tuas litteras, quibus ad me scribis gratum tibi esse, quod crebro certior per me fias de omnibus rebus, et meam erga te benevolentiam facile perspicias: quorum alterum mihi, ut te plurimum diligam, facere necesse est, si volo is esse, quem tu me esse voluisti: alterum facio libenter, ut, quoniam intervallo locorum et temporum disiuncti sumus, per litteras tecum quam saepissime colloquar. Quod si rarius fiet, quam tu exspectabis, id erit caussae, quod non eius generis meae litterae sunt, ut eas audeam temere committere. Quoties mihi certorum hominum potestas erit, quibus recte dem, non praetermittam. 2. Quod scire vis, qua quisque in te fide sit et voluntate, difficile dictu est de singulis. Unum illud audeo, quod antea tibi saepe significavi, nunc quoque, re perspecta et cognita, scribere: vehementer quosdam homines, et eos maxime, qui te et maxime debuerunt et plurimum iuvare potuerunt, invidisse dignitati tuae, simillimamque in re dissimili tui temporis nunc, et nostri quondam fuisse rationem: ut, quos tu reipublicae caussa laeseras,

palam te oppugnarent; quorum auctoritatem, dignitatem voluntatemque defenderas, non tam memores essent virtutis tuae, quam laudis inimici. Quo quidem tempore, ut perscripsi ad te antea, cognovi Hortensium percupidum tui, studiosum Lucullum, ex magistratibus autem L. Racilium et fide et animo singulari. Nam nostra propugnatio ac defensio dignitatis tuae, propter magnitudinem beneficii tui, fortasse plerisque officii maiorem auctoritatem habere videatur, quam sententiae. 3. Praeterea quidem de consularibus nemini possum aut studii erga te, aut officii aut amici animi esse testis. Etenim Pompeium, qui mecum saepissime, non solum a me provocatus, sed etiam sua sponte de te communicare solet, scis, temporibus illis non saepe in senatu fuisse. Cui quidem litterae tuae, quas proxime miseras, quod facile intellexerim, periucundae fuerunt. Mihi quidem humanitas tua vel summa potius sapientia non iucunda solum, sed etiam admirabilis visa est. Virum enim excellentem et tibi tua praestanti in eum liberalitate devinctum, nonnihil suspicantem, propter aliquorum opinionem suae cupiditatis, te ab se abalienatum, illa epistola retinuisti. Qui mihi quum semper tuae laudi favere visus est, etiam ipso suspiciosissimo tempore Caniniano: tum vero, lectis tuis litteris, perspectus est a me, toto animo de te ac de tuis ornamentis et commodis cogitare. 4. Quare ea, quae scribam, sic habeto, me, cum illo re saepe communicata, de illius ad te sententia atque auctoritate scribere: quoniam senatusconsultum nullum exstat, quo reductio regis Alexandrini tibi adempta sit: eaque, quae de ea scripta est, auctoritas, cui scis intercessum esse, ut ne quis omnino regem reduceret, tantam vim habet, ut magis iratorum hominum studium, quam constantis senatus consilium esse videatur: te perspicere posse, qui Ciliciam Cyprumque teneas, quid efficere et quid consequi possis: et, si res facultatem habitura videatur, ut Alexandriam atque Aegyptum tenere possis; esse et tuae et nostri imperii dignitatis, Ptolemaide aut aliquo propinquo loco rege collocato, te cum classe atque exercitu proficisci Alexandriam: ut, quum eam pace praesidiisque firmaris, Ptolemaeus redeat in regnum: ita fore, ut per te restituatur, quemadmodum senatus initio censuit, et sine multitudine reducatur, quemadmodum homines religiosi Sibyllae placere dixerunt. 5. Sed haec sententia sic et illi et nobis probabatur, ut ex eventu homines de tuo consilio

existimaturos videremus: si cecidisset, ut volumus et optamus, omnes te et sapienter et fortiter, sin aliquid esset offensum, eosdem illos, et cupide et temere fecisse, dicturos. Quare quid assequi possis, non tam facile est nobis, quam tibi, cuius prope in conspectu Aegyptus est, iudicare. Nos quidem hoc sentimus: si exploratum tibi sit, posse te illius regni potiri, non esse cunctandum: si dubium sit, non esse conandum. Illud tibi affirmo, si rem istam ex sententia gesseris, fore, ut absens a multis, quum redieris, ab omnibus collaudere. Offensionem esse periculosam propter interpositam auctoritatem religionemque video. Sed ego te, ut ad certam laudem adhortor, sic a dimicatione deterreo: redeoque ad illud, quod initio scripsi, totius facti tui iudicium non tam ex consilio tuo, quam ex eventu homines esse facturos. 6. Quod si haec ratio rei gerendae periculosa tibi esse videbitur, placebat illud, ut, si rex amicis tuis, qui per provinciam atque imperii tui provincias ei credidissent, fidem suam praestitisset, et auxiliis eum tuis et copiis adiuvares; eam esse naturam et regionem provinciae tuae, ut illius reditum vel adiuvando confirmares vel negligendo impedires. In hac ratione quid res, quid caussa, quid tempus ferat, tu facillime optimeque perspicies: quid nobis placuisset, ex me potissimum putavi te scire oportere. 7. Quod mihi de nostro statu, de Milonis familiaritate, de levitate et imbecillitate Clodii gratularis; minime miramur, te tuis, ut egregium artificem, praeclaris operibus laetari; quamquam est incredibilis hominum perversitas, (graviori enim verbo uti non libet,) qui nos, quos favendo in communi caussa retinere potuerunt, invidendo abalienarunt; quorum malevolentissimis obtrectationibus nos scito de vetere illa nostra diuturnaque sententia prope iam esse depulsos, non nos quidem ut nostrae dignitatis simus obliti, sed ut habeamus rationem aliquando etiam salutis. Poterat utrumque praeclare, si esset fides, si gravitas in hominibus consularibus: sed tanta est in plerisque levitas, ut eos non tam constantia in republica nostra delectet, quam splendor offendat. 8. Quod eo liberius ad te scribo, qui non solum temporibus iis, quae per te sum adeptus, sed iam olim nascenti prope nostrae laudi dignitatique favisti: simul quod video, non, ut antehac putabam, novitati esse invisum meae: in te enim, homine omnium nobilissimo, similia invidorum vitia perspexi; quem tamen illi esse in principibus facile

sunt passi, evolare altius certe noluerunt. Gaudeo tuam dissimilem fuisse fortunam: multum enim interest, utrum laus imminuatur, an salus deseratur. Me meae tamen ne nimis poeniteret, tua virtute perfectum est. Curasti enim, ut plus additum ad memoriam nominis nostri, quam demptum de fortuna videretur. 9. Te vero emoneo, quum beneficiis tuis, tum amore incitatus meo, ut omnem gloriam, ad quam a pueritia inflammatus fuisti, omni cura atque industria consequare, magnitudinemque animi tui, quam ego semper sum admiratus semperque amavi, ne umquam inflectas cuiusquam iniuria. Magna est hominum opinio de te, magna commendatio liberalitatis, magna memoria consulatus tui. Haec profecto vides quanto expressiora, quantoque illustriora futura sint, quum aliquantum ex provincia atque ex imperio laudis accesserit. Quamquam te ita gerere volo, quae per exercitum atque imperium gerenda sunt, ut haec multo ante meditere, huc te pares, haec cogites, ad haec te exerceas, sentiasque id, (quod, quia semper sperasti, non dubito, quin, adeptus, intelligas,) te facillime posse obtinere summum atque altissimum gradum civitatis. Quae quidem mea cohortatio ne tibi inanis aut sine caussa suscepta videatur, illa me ratio movit, ut te ex nostris eventis communibus admonendum putarem, ut considerares, in omni reliqua vita, quibus crederes, quos caveres. 10. Quod scribis te velle scire, qui sit reipublicae status: summa dissensio est, sed contentio dispar. Nam qui plus opibus, armis, potentia valent, profecisse tantum mihi videntur stultitia et inconstantia adversariorum, ut etiam auctoritate iam plus valerent. Itaque, perpaucis adversantibus, omnia, quae ne per populum quidem sine seditione se assequi posse arbitrabantur, per senatum consecuti sunt: nam et stipendium Caesari decretum est, et decem legati, et, ne lege Sempronia succederetur, facile perfectum est. Quod ego ad te brevius scribo, quia me status hic reipublicae non delectat: scribo tamen, ut te admoneam, quod ipse, litteris omnibus a pueritia deditus, experiendo tamen magis, quam discendo cognovi, tu, tuis rebus integris, discas, neque salutis nostrae rationem habendam nobis esse sine dignitate, neque dignitatis sine salute. 11. Quod mihi de filia et de Crassipede gratularis, agnosco humanitatem tuam: speroque et opto, nobis hanc coniunctionem voluptati fore. 12. Lentulum nostrum eximia spe, summae virtutis adolescentem, quum ceteris artibus, qui-

bus studuisti semper ipse, tum in primis imitatione tui fac erudias: nulla enim erit hac praestantior disciplina: quem nos, et quia tuus, et quia te dignus est filius, et quia nos diligit semperque dilexit, in primis amamus carumque habemus. (*Ad Div.* I. vii.)

## EPISTOLA XXIV.

(Romae, A.U.C. 699.)

### M. CICERO S. D. M. MARIO.

1. Si te dolor aliquis corporis aut infirmitas valetudinis tuae tenuit, quo minus ad ludos venires, fortunae magis tribuo, quam sapientiae tuae; sin haec, quae ceteri mirantur, contemnenda duxisti, et, quum per valetudinem posses, venire tamen noluisti; utrumque laetor, et sine dolore corporis te fuisse, et animo valuisse, quum ea, quae sine caussa mirantur alii, neglexeris; modo, ut tibi constiterit fructus otii tui; quo quidem tibi perfrui mirifice licuit, quum esses in ista amoenitate paene solus relictus. Neque tamen dubito, quin tu in illo cubiculo tuo, ex quo tibi Stabianum perforasti et patefecisti Misenum, per eos dies matutina tempora lectiunculis consumpseris: quum illi interea, qui te istic reliquerant, spectarent communes mimos semisomni. Reliquas vero partes diei tu consumebas his delectationibus, quas tibi ipse ad arbitrium tuum compararas; nobis autem erant ea perpetienda, quae scilicet Sp. Maecius probavisset. 2. Omnino, si quaeris, ludi apparatissimi: sed non tui stomachi: coniecturam enim facio de meo. Nam primum honoris caussa in scenam redierant ii, quos ego honoris caussa de scena decessisse arbitrabar. Deliciae vero tuae, noster Aesopus, eiusmodi fuit, ut ei desinere per omnes homines liceret. Is iurare quum coepisset, vox eum defecit in illo loco: SI SCIENS FALLO. Quid tibi ego alia narrem? Nosti enim reliquos ludos: quid? ne id quidem leporis habuerunt, quod solent mediocres ludi. Apparatus enim spectatio tollebat omnem hilaritatem: quo quidem apparatu non dubito, quin animo aequissimo carueris. Quid enim delectationis habent sexcenti muli in *Clytaemnestra*? aut in *Equo Troiano* craterarum

tria millia? aut armatura varia peditatus et equitatus in aliqua pugna? quae popularem admirationem habuerunt; delectationem tibi nullam attulissent. 3. Quod si tu per eos dies operam dedisti Protogeni tuo, dummodo is tibi quidvis potius, quam orationes meas legerit: nae tu haud paullo plus, quam quisquam nostrum, delectationis habuisti. Non enim te puto Graecos aut Oscos ludos desiderare; praesertim quum Oscos ludos vel in senatu nostro spectare possis, Graecos ita non ames, ut ne ad villam quidem tuam via Graeca ire soleas. Nam quid ego te athletas putem desiderare, qui gladiatores contempseris? in quibus ipse Pompeius confitetur se et operam et oleum perdidisse. Reliquae sunt venationes binae per dies quinque; magnificae, nemo negat. Sed quae potest homini esse polito delectatio, quum aut homo imbecillus a valentissima bestia laniatur, aut praeclara bestia venabulo transverberatur? Quae tamen, si videnda sunt, saepe vidisti: neque nos, qui haec spectavimus, quidquam novi vidimus. Extremus elephantorum dies fuit: in quo admiratio magna vulgi atque turbae, delectatio nulla exstitit. Quin etiam misericordia quaedam consecuta est atque opinio eiusmodi, esse quamdam illi belluae cum genere humano societatem. 4. His ego tamen diebus, ludis scenicis, ne forte videar tibi non modo beatus, sed liber omnino fuisse, dirupi me paene in iudicio Galli Caninii, familiaris tui. Quod si tam facilem populum haberem, quam Aesopus habuit: libenter mehercule artem desinerem tecumque et cum similibus nostri viverem. Nam me quum antea taedebat, quum et aetas et ambitio me hortabatur, et licebat denique, quem nolebam, non defendere: tum vero hoc tempore vita nulla est. Neque enim fructum ullum laboris exspecto, et cogor nonnumquam homines non optime de me meritos, rogatu eorum, qui bene meriti sunt, defendere. 5. Itaque quaero caussas omnes aliquando vivendi arbitratu meo; teque et istam rationem otii tui et laudo vehementer et probo: quodque nos minus intervisis, hoc fero animo aequiore, quod, si Romae esses, tamen neque nos lepore tuo neque te (si qui est in me) meo frui liceret propter molestissimas occupationes meas; quibus si me relaxaro, (nam, ut plane exsolvam, non postulo,) te ipsum, qui multos annos nihil aliud commentaris, docebo profecto, quid sit humaniter vivere. Tu mihi modo istam imbecillitatem valetudinis tuae sustenta et tuere, ut

facis, ut nostras villas obire, et mecum simul lecticula concursare possis. 6. Haec ad te pluribus verbis scripsi, quam soleo, non otii abundantia, sed amoris erga te, quod me quadam epistola subinvitaras, si memoria tenes, ut ad te aliquid eiusmodi scriberem, quo minus te praetermisisse ludos poeniteret. Quod si assecutus sum, gaudeo: sin minus, hoc me tamen consolor, quod posthac ad ludos venies, nosque vises, neque in epistolis relinques meis spem aliquam delectationis tuae. [Vale.] (*Ad Div.* VII. i.)

## EPISTOLA XXV

(Romae, A.U.C. 700.)

### CICERO S. D. CAESARI IMPER.

1. Vide, quam mihi persuaserim, te me esse alterum, non modo in his rebus, quae ad me ipsum, sed etiam in iis, quae ad meos pertinent. C. Trebatium cogitaram, quocumque exirem, mecum ducere, ut eum meis omnibus studiis, beneficiis quam ornatissimum domum reducerem. Sed posteaquam et Pompeii commoratio diuturnior erat, quam putaram, et mea quaedam tibi non ignota dubitatio aut impedire profectionem meam videbatur aut certe tardare: vide, quid mihi sumpserim. Coepi velle, ea Trebatium exspectare a te, quae sperasset a me. Neque mehercule minus ei prolixe de tua voluntate promisi, quam eram solitus de mea polliceri. 2. Casus vero mirificus quidam intervenit, quasi vel testis opinionis meae vel sponsor humanitatis tuae. Nam quum de hoc ipso Trebatio cum Balbo nostro loquerer accuratius domi meae, litterae mihi dantur a te: quibus in extremis scriptum erat: *M. Orfium, quem mihi commendas, vel regem Galliae faciam, vel hunc Leptae delega, si vis. Tu ad me alium mitte, quem ornem.* Sustulimus manus et ego et Balbus. Tanta fuit opportunitas, ut illud nescio quod, non fortuitum, sed divinum videretur. Mitto igitur ad te Trebatium, atque ita mitto, ut initio mea sponte, post autem invitatu tuo mittendum duxerim. 3. Hunc, mi Caesar, sic velim omni tua comitate complectare, ut omnia, quae per me possis adduci, ut in meos conferre velis, in unum hunc

conferas. De quo tibi homine haec spondeo non illo vetere verbo meo, quod, quum ad te de Milone scripsissem, iure lusisti, sed more Romano, quo modo homines non inepti loquuntur; probiorem hominem, meliorem virum, pudentiorem esse neminem. Accedit etiam, quod familiam ducit in iure civili, singularis memoria, summa scientia. Huic ego neque tribunatum, neque praefecturam neque ullius beneficii certum nomen peto: benevolentiam tuam et liberalitatem peto: neque impedio, quo minus, si tibi ita placuerit, etiam hisce eum ornes gloriolae insignibus: totum denique hominem tibi ita trado de manu (ut aiunt) in manum tuam istam et victoria et fide praestantem. Sumus enim putidiusculi, quamquam per te vix licet: verum, ut video, licebit. Cura, ut valeas, et me, ut amas, ama. (*Ad Div.* VII. v.)

## EPISTOLA XXVI.

(Romae, A.U.C. 700.)

## M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI.

1. Calamo et atramento temperato, charta etiam dentata res agetur. Scribis enim, te meas litteras superiores vix legere potuisse: in quo nihil eorum, mi frater, fuit, quae putas. Neque enim occupatus eram, neque perturbatus nec iratus alicui: sed hoc facio semper, ut, quicumque calamus in manus meas venerit, eo sic utar, tamquam bono. 2. Verum attende nunc, mi optime et suavissime frater, ad ea dum rescribo, quae tu in hac eadem brevi epistola πραγματικῶς valde scripsisti. De quo petis, ut ad te, nihil occultans, nihil dissimulans, nihil tibi indulgens, germane fraterneque rescribam, id est, utrum voles, ut dixerimus, an ad expediendum te, si caussa sit, commorere: si, mi Quinte, parva aliqua res esset, in qua sciscitarere, quid vellem: tamen, quum tibi permissurus essem, ut faceres, quod velles; ego ipse, quid vellem osterendem. In hac vero re hoc profecto quaeris, cuiusmodi illum annum, qui sequitur, exspectem: plane aut tranquillum nobis, aut certe munitissimum: quod quotidie domus, quod forum, quod theatri significationes declarant, nec laborant, quod mea conscientia copiarum

nostrarum, quod Caesaris, quod Pompeii gratiam tenemus. Haec me, ut confidam, faciunt. Sin aliquis erumpet amentis hominis furor, omnia sunt ad eum frangendum expedita. 3. Haec ita sentio, iudico, ad te explorate scribo. Dubitare te, non assentatorie, sed fraterne veto. Quare suavitatis equidem nostrae fruendae caussa cuperem te ad id tempus venire, quod dixeras: sed illud malo tamen, quod putas, magis etiam; etenim magni aestimo *ἀμφιλαφίαν* illam tuam, et explicationem debitorum tuorum. Illud quidem sic habeto, nihil nobis expeditis, si valebimus, fore fortunatius. Parva sunt, quae desunt, de nostris quidem moribus, et ea sunt ad explicandum expeditissima, modo valeamus. 4. Ambitus redit immanis. Nunquam fuit par. Idib. Quint. foenus fuit - S - ex = = coitione Memmii, quam cum Domitio habuit, Scaurum ut vinceret, Messala flaccet. Non dico *ὑπερβολικῶς*: vel H-S centies constituunt in praerogativa pronuntiare. Res ardet invidia. Tribunicii candidati compromiserunt, H-S quingenis in singulos apud M. Catonem depositis, petere eius arbitratu, ut, qui contra fecisset, ab eo condemnaretur. Quae quidem comitia gratuita si fuerint, ut putantur, plus unus Cato fuerit, quam omnes leges omnesque iudices. (*Ad Q. Fr.* II. xv.)

## EPISTOLA XXVII.

(Romae, A.U.C. 700.)

### M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI.

1. Quum a me litteras librarii manu acceperis, ne paullum otii me habuisse iudicato, quum autem mea, paullum. Sic enim habeto, numquam me a caussis et iudiciis districtiorem fuisse, atque id anni tempore gravissimo et caloribus maximis. Sed haec (quoniam tu ita praescribis) ferenda sunt; neque committendum, ut aut spei, aut cogitationi vestrae ego videar defuisse: praesertim quum, tametsi id difficilius fuerit, tamen ex hoc labore magnam gratiam magnamque dignitatem sim collecturus. Itaque, ut tibi placet, damus operam, ne cuius animum offendamus atque ut etiam ab his ipsis, qui nos cum Caesare tam coniunctos dolent,

diligamur, ab aequis vero, aut etiam a propensis in hanc partem, vehementer et colamur et amemur. 2. De ambitu quum atrocissime ageretur in senatu multos dies, quod ita erant progressi candidati consulares, ut non esset ferendum: in senatu non fui. Statui ad nullam medicinam reipublicae sine magno praesidio accedere. 3. Quo die haec scripsi, Drusus erat de praevaricatione a tribunis aerariis absolutus, in summa, quattuor sententiis, quum senatores et equites damnassent. Ego eodem die post meridiem Vatinium aderam defensurus. Ea res facilis est. Comitia in mensem Sept. reiecta sunt. Scauri iudicium statim exercebitur, cui nos non deerimus. Συνδείπνους Σοφοκλέους, quamquam a te actam fabellam video esse festive, nullo modo probavi. 4. Venio nunc ad id, quod nescio an primum esse debuerit. O iucundas mihi tuas de Britannia litteras! Timebam Oceanum, timebam littus insulae. Reliqua non equidem contemno, sed plus habent tamen spei, quam timoris, magisque sum sollicitus exspectatione ea, quam metu. Te vero ὑπόθεσιν scribendi egregiam habere video. Quos tu situs, quas naturas rerum et locorum, quos mores, quas gentes, quas pugnas, quem vero ipsum imperatorem habes! Ego te libenter, ut rogas, quibus rebus vis, adiuvabo et tibi versus, quos rogas, γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας mittam. 5. Sed heus tu, celari videor a te. Quomodonam, mi frater, de nostris versibus Caesar? nam primum librum se legisse scripsit ad me ante, et prima sic, ut neget, se ne Graeca quidem meliora legisse. Reliqua ad quemdam locum ῥᾳθυμότερα. Hoc enim utitur verbo. Dic mihi verum num aut res eum, aut χαρακτήρ non delectat? Nihil est, quod vereare. Ego enim ne pilo quidem minus me amabo. Hac de re φιλαλήθως et, ut soles, scribe fraterne. (*Ad Q. Fr.* II. xvi.)

## EPISTOLA XXVIII.

(Romae, A.U.C. 700.)

### M. T. C. S. D. P. LENTULO IMPERATORI.

1. Periucundae mihi fuerunt litterae tuae; quibus intellexi, te perspicere meam in te pietatem: quid enim dicam benevolentiam, quum illud ipsum gravissimum et sanctissi-

mum nomen pietatis levius mihi meritis erga me tuis esse videatur? Quod autem tibi grata mea erga te studia scribis esse, facis tu quidem abundantia quadam amoris, ut etiam grata sint ea, quae praetermitti sine nefario scelere non possunt. Tibi autem multo notior atque illustrior meus in te animus esset, si hoc tempore omni, quo disiuncti fuimus, et una et Romae fuissemus. 2. Nam in eo ipso, quod te ostendis esse facturum, quodque et in primis potes, et ego a te vehementer exspecto, in sententiis senatoriis et in omni actione atque administratione reipublicae floruissemus. De qua ostendam equidem paullo post, qui sit meus sensus et status, et rescribam tibi ad ea, quae quaeris: sed certe et ego te auctore amicissimo ac sapientissimo, et tu me consiliario fortasse non imperitissimo, fideli quidem et benevolo certe, usus esses: quamquam tua quidem caussa, te esse imperatorem provinciamque bene gestis rebus cum exercitu victore obtinere, ut debeo, laetor: sed certe, qui tibi ex me fructus debentur, eos uberiores et praesentiores praesens capere potuisses. In eis vero ulciscendis, quos tibi partim inimicos esse intelligis propter tuam propugnationem salutis meae, partim invidere propter illius actionis amplitudinem et gloriam, mirificum me tibi comitem praebuissem: quamquam ille perennis inimicus amicorum suorum, qui, tuis maximis beneficiis ornatus, in te potissimum fractam illam et debilitatam vim suam contulit, nostram vicem ultus est ipse sese. Ea est enim conatus, quibus patefactis, nullam sibi in posterum non modo dignitatis, sed ne libertatis quidem partem reliquit. 3. Te autem etsi mallem in meis rebus expertum, quam etiam in tuis, tamen in molestia gaudeo, eam fidem cognosse hominum, non ita magna mercede, quam ego maximo dolore cognoram. De qua ratione tota iam videtur mihi exponendi tempus dari, ut tibi rescribam ad ea, quae quaeris. 4. Certiorem te per litteras scribis esse factum, me cum Caesare et cum Appio esse in gratia: teque id non reprehendere ascribis. Vatinium autem, scire te velle ostendis, quibus rebus adductus defenderim et laudarim. Quod tibi ut planius exponam, altius paullo rationem consiliorum meorum repetam, necesse est.

Ego me, Lentule, initio rerum atque actionum tuarum, non solum meis, sed etiam reipublicae restitutum putabam, et, quoniam tibi incredibilem quemdam amorem et omnia in te ipsum summa ac singularia studia deberem, reipublicae, quae

te in me restituendo multum adiuvisset, eum certe me animum merito ipsius debere arbitrabar, quem antea tantummodo communi officio civium, non alicui erga me singulari beneficio debitum praestitissem. Hac me mente fuisse, et senatus ex me, te consule, audivit, et tu in nostris sermonibus collocutionibusque ipse vidisti. 5. Etsi iam primis temporibus illis, multis rebus meus offendebatur animus, quum, te agente de reliqua nostra dignitate, aut occulta nonnullorum odia aut obscura in me studia cernebam. Nam neque de monumentis meis ab iis adiutus es, a quibus debuisti, neque de vi nefaria, qua cum fratre eram domo expulsus, neque hercule in iis ipsis rebus, quae, quamquam erant mihi propter rei familiaris naufragia necessariae, tamen a me minimi putabantur in meis damnis, ex auctoritate senatus sarciendis, eam voluntatem, quam exspectaram, praestiterunt. Quae quum viderem (neque enim erant obscura), non tamen tam acerba mihi haec accidebant, quam erant illa grata, quae fecerant. 6. Itaque quamquam et Pompeio plurimum, te quidem ipso praedicatore ac teste, debebam, et eum non solum beneficio, sed amore etiam et perpetuo quodam iudicio meo diligebam: tamen non reputans, quid ille vellet, in omnibus meis sententiis de republica pristinis permanebam. 7. Ego sedente Cn. Pompeio, quum, ut laudaret P. Sextium, introisset in Urbem dixissetque testis Vatinius, me, fortuna et felicitate C. Caesaris commotum, illi amicum esse coepisse, dixi, me M. Bibuli fortunam, quam ille afflictam putaret, omnium triumphis victoriisque anteferre; dixique eodem teste, alio loco, eosdem esse, qui Bibulum exire domo prohibuissent, et qui me coegissent. Tota vero interrogatio mea nihil habuit, nisi reprehensionem illius tribunatus: in quo omnia dicta sunt libertate animoque maximo, de vi, de auspiciis, de donatione regnorum. 8. Neque vero hac in caussa modo, sed constanter ac saepe in senatu. Quin etiam, Marcellino et Philippo consulibus, Nonis April. mihi est senatus assensus, ut de agro Campano, frequenti senatu, Idibus Maiis referretur. Num potui magis in arcem illius caussae invadere, aut magis oblivisci temporum meorum, meminisse actionum? Hac a me sententia dicta, magnus animorum factus est motus, quum eorum, quorum oportuit, tum illorum etiam, quorum numquam putaram. 9. Nam hoc senatusconsulto in meam sensentiam facto, Pompeius, quum mihi nihil ostendisset se esse

offensum, in Sardiniam et in Africam profectus est, eoque itinere Lucam ad Caesarem venit. Ibi multa de mea sententia questus est Caesar, quippe qui etiam Ravennae Crassum ante vidisset, ab eoque in me esset incensus. Sane moleste Pompeium id ferre constabat, quod ego, quum audissem ex aliis, maxime ex meo fratre cognovi. Quem quum in Sardinia Pompeius paucis post diebus, quam Luca discesserat, convenisset: Te, inquit, ipsum cupio: nihil opportunius potuit accidere: nisi cum Marco fratre diligenter egeris, dependendum tibi est, quod mihi pro illo spopondisti. Quid multa? questus est graviter: sua merita commemoravit: quid egisset saepissime de actis Caesaris cum ipso meo fratre, quidque sibi is de me recepisset, in memoriam redegit: seque, quae de mea salute egisset, voluntate Caesaris egisse, ipsum meum fratrem testatus est; cuius caussam dignitatemque mihi ut commendaret, rogavit, ut eam ne oppugnarem, si nollem aut non possem tueri. 10. Haec quum ad me frater pertulisset, et quum ante tamen Pompeius ad me cum mandatis Vibullium misisset, ut integrum mihi de caussa Campana ad suum reditum reservarem: collegi ipse me, et cum ipsa quasi republica collocutus sum, ut mihi, tam multa pro se perpesso atque perfuncto concederet, ut officium meum memoremque in bene meritos animum fidemque fratris mei praestarem, eumque, quem bonum civem semper habuisset, bonum virum esse pateretur. In illis autem meis actionibus sententiisque omnibus, quae Pompeium videbantur offendere, certorum hominum, quos iam debes suspicari, sermones referebantur ad me; qui quum illa sentirent in republica, quae ego agebam, semperque sensissent: me tamen non satisfacere Pompeio Caesaremque inimicissimum mihi futurum, gaudere se aiebant. Erat hoc mihi dolendum: sed multo illud magis, quod inimicum meum (meum autem? immo vero legum, iudiciorum, otii, patriæ, bonorum omnium,) sic amplexabantur, sic in manibus habebant, sic fovebant, sic me praesente osculabantur, non illi quidem ut mihi stomachum facerent, quem ego funditus perdidi, sed certe, ut facere se arbitrarentur. Hic ego, quantum humano consilio efficere potui, circumspectis rebus meis omnibus rationibusque subductis, summam feci cogitationum mearum omnium, quam tibi, si potero, breviter exponam.

11. Ego si ab improbis et perditis civibus rempublicam teneri viderem, sicut et meis temporibus scimus, et nonnullis

aliis accidisse accepimus, non modo praemiis, quae apud me minimum valent, sed ne periculis quidem compulsus ullis, quibus tamen moventur etiam fortissimi viri, ad eorum caussam me adiungerem, ne si summa quidem eorum in me merita constarent. Quum autem in republica Cn. Pompeius princeps esset, vir is, qui hanc potentiam et gloriam maximis in rempublicam meritis praestantissimisque rebus gestis esset consecutus, cuiusque ego dignitatis ab adolescentia fautor, in praetura autem et in consulatu adiutor etiam exstitissem: quumque idem auctoritate et sententia per se, consiliis et studiis tecum me adiuvisset meumque inimicum unum in civitate haberet inimicum: non putavi famam inconstantiae mihi pertimescendam, si quibusdam in sententiis paullum me immutassem meamque voluntatem ad summi viri de meque optime meriti dignitatem aggregassem. 12. In hac sententia complectendus erat mihi Caesar, ut vides, in coniuncta et caussa et dignitate. Hic multum valuit quum vetus amicitia, quam tu non ignoras mihi et Q. fratri cum Caesare fuisse, tum humanitas eius ac liberalitas, brevi tempore et litteris et officiis perspecta nobis et cognita. Vehementer etiam res ipsa publica me movit, quae mihi videbatur contentionem, praesertim maximis rebus a Caesare gestis, cum illis viris nolle fieri et, ne fieret, vehementer recusare. Gravissime autem me in hanc mentem impulit et Pompeii fides, quam de me Caesari dederat, et fratris mei, quam Pompeio. Erant praeterea haec animadvertenda in civitate, quae sunt apud Platonem nostrum scripta divinitus: Quales in republica principes essent, tales reliquos solere esse cives. Tenebam memoria, nobis consulibus, ea fundamenta iacta ex Kalendis Ianuariis confirmandi senatus, ut neminem mirari oporteret, Nonis Decembribus tantum vel animi fuisse in illo ordine vel auctoritatis. Idemque memineram, nobis privatis usque ad Caesarem et Bibulum consules, quum sententiae nostrae magnum in senatu pondus haberent, unum fere sensum fuisse bonorum omnium. 13. Postea, quum tu Hispaniam citeriorem cum imperio obtineres, neque respublica consules haberet, sed mercatores provinciarum et seditionum servos ac ministros, iecit quidam casus caput meum, quasi certaminis caussa, in mediam contentionem dissensionemque civilem. Quo in discrimine quum mirifica senatus, incredibilis Italiae totius, singularis omnium bonorum consensio in me tuendo exsti-

tisset: non dicam, quid acciderit (multorum est enim et varia culpa): tantum dicam brevi, non mihi exercitum, sed duces defuisse. In quo, ut iam sit in iis culpa, qui me non defenderunt; non minor est in iis, qui reliquerunt: et, si accusandi sunt, si qui pertimuerunt, magis etiam reprehendendi, si qui se timere simularunt. Illud quidem certe nostrum consilium iure laudandum est, qui meos cives, et a me conservatos et me servare cupientes, spoliatos ducibus, servis armatis obiici noluerim, declararique maluerim, quanta vis esse potuisset in consensu bonorum, si iis pro me stante pugnare licuisset, quum afflictum excitare potuissent. Quorum quidem animum tu non perspexisti solum, quum de me ageres, sed etiam confirmasti atque tenuisti. 14. Qua in caussa (non modo non negabo, sed etiam semper et meminero et praedicabo libenter,) usus es quibusdam nobilissimis hominibus, fortioribus in me restituendo, quam fuerant iidem in tenendo: qua in sententia si constare voluissent, suam auctoritatem simul cum salute mea recuperassent. Recreatis enim bonis viris consulatu tuo, et constantissimis atque optimis actionibus tuis excitatis, Cn. Pompeio praesertim ad caussam adiuncto: quum etiam Caesar, rebus maximis gestis, singularibus ornatus et novis honoribus ac iudiciis senatus, ad auctoritatem eius ordinis adiungeretur; nulli improbo civi locus ad rempublicam violandam esse potuisset. 15. Sed attende, quaeso, quae sint consecuta. Primum ille fur muliebrium religionum, qui non pluris fecerat Bonam Deam, quam tres sorores, impunitatem est illorum sententiis assecutus, qui (quum tribunus plebis poenas a seditioso civi per bonos viros iudicio persequi vellet) exemplum praeclarissimum in posterum vindicandae seditionis de republica sustulerunt: iidemque postea, non meum monumentum, (non enim illae manubiae meae, sed operis locatio mea fuerat,) monumentum vero senatus hostili nomine et cruentis inustum litteris esse passi sunt. Qui me homines quod salvum esse voluerunt, est mihi gratissimum: sed vellem non solum salutis meae, quemadmodum medici, sed, ut aliptae, etiam virium et coloris rationem habere voluissent: nunc, ut Apelles Veneris caput et summa pectoris politissima arte perfecit, reliquam partem corporis inchoatam reliquit, sic quidam homines in capite meo solum elaborarunt, reliquum corpus imperfectum ac rude reliquerunt. 16. In quo ego spem fefelli non modo invidorum,

sed etiam inimicorum meorum: qui de uno acerrimo et fortissimo viro meoque iudicio omnium magnitudine animi et constantia praestantissimo, Q. Metello, Lucii filio, quondam falsam opinionem acceperant; quem post reditum dictitant fracto animo et demisso fuisse. Est vero probandum, qui et summa voluntate cesserit, et egregia animi alacritate abfuerit, neque sane redire curarit, eum ob id ipsum fractum fuisse, in quo quum omnes homines, tum M. illum Scaurum, singularem virum, constantia et gravitate superasset. Sed, quod de illo acceperant aut etiam suspicabantur, de me idem cogitabant, abiectiore animo me futurum, quum respublica maiorem etiam mihi animum, quam umquam habuissem, daret; quae declarasset, se non potuisse me uno civi carere: quumque Metellum unius tribuni plebis rogatio, me universa respublica, duce senatu, comitante Italia, promulgantibus omnibus, referente consule, comitiis centuriatis, cunctis ordinibus, hominibus incumbentibus, omnibus denique suis viribus recuperavisset. 17. Neque vero ego mihi postea quidquam assumpsi, neque hodie assumo, quod quemquam malevolentissimum iure possit offendere: tantum enitor, ut neque amicis neque etiam alienioribus opera, consilio, labore desim. Hic meae vitae cursus offendit eos fortasse, qui splendorem et speciem huius vitae intuentur, sollicitudinem autem et laborem perspicere non possunt. Illud vero non obscure queruntur, in meis sententiis, quibus ornem Caesarem, quasi desciscere me a pristina caussa. Ego autem quum illa sequor, quae paullo ante proposui, tum hoc non in postremis, de quo coeperam exponere. Non offendes eumdem bonorum sensum, Lentule, quem reliquisti: qui confirmatus consulatu nostro, nonnumquam postea interruptus, afflictus ante te consulem, recreatus abs te totus est, nunc ab iis, a quibus tuendus fuerat, derelictus: idque non solum fronte atque vultu, quibus simulatio facillime sustinetur, declarant ii, qui tum nostro illo statu optimates nominabantur, sed etiam sententia saepe iam tabellaque docuerant. 18. Itaque tota iam sapientium civium, qualem me et esse et numerari volo, et sententia et voluntas mutata esse debet. Id enim iubet idem ille Plato, quem ego vehementer auctorem sequor: tantum contendere in republica, quantum probare tuis civibus possis; vim neque parenti neque patriae afferri oportere. Atque hanc quidem ille caussam sibi ait non attingendae

reipublicae fuisse: quod, quum offendisset populum Atheniensem prope iam desipientem senectute, quumque eum nec persuadendo, nec cogendo regi posse vidisset, quum persuaderi posse diffideret, cogi fas esse non arbitraretur: Mea ratio fuit alia, quod, neque desipiente populo, neque integra re mihi ad consulendum, capesseremne rempublicam, implicatus tenebar. Sed laetatus tamen sum, quod mihi liceret in eadem caussa et mihi utilia et cuivis bono recta defendere. Huc accessit commemoranda quaedam et divina Caesaris in me fratremque meum liberalitas: qui mihi, quascumque res gereret, tuendus esset: nunc in tanta felicitate tantisque victoriis, etiamsi in nos non is esset, qui est, tamen ornandus videretur. Sic enim te existimare velim; quum a vobis, meae salutis auctoribus, discesserim, neminem esse, cuius officiis me tam esse devinctum non solum confitear, sed etiam gaudeam.

19. Quod quoniam tibi exposui, facilia sunt ea, quae a me de Vatinio et de Crasso requiris. Nam de Appio quod scribis, sicuti de Cæsare, te non reprehendere: gaudeo consilium tibi probari meum. De Vatinio autem, primum reditus intercesserat in gratiam per Pompeium, statim ut ille praetor est factus, quum quidem ego eius petitionem gravissimis in senatu sententiis oppugnassem, neque tam illius laedendi caussa, quam defendendi atque ornandi Catonis: post autem Cæsaris, ut illum defenderem, mira contentio est consecuta. Cur autem laudarim, peto a te, ut id a me neve in hoc reo, neve in aliis requiras: ne tibi ego idem reponam, quum veneris: tametsi possum vel absenti. Recordare enim, quibus laudationem ex ultimis terris miseris. Nec hoc pertimueris; nam a me ipso laudantur et laudabuntur iidem. Sed tamen defendendi Vatinii fuit etiam ille stimulus, de quo in iudicio, quum illum defenderem, dixi me facere quiddam, quod in Eunucho parasitus suaderet militi:

*Ubi nóminabit Phaédriam, tu Pámphilam*
*contínuo. Si quando illa dicet: Phaédriam*
*intrómittamus cómissatum; tu: Pámphilam*
*cantátum provocémus: si laudábit haec*
*illius formam: tu húius contra. Dénique*
*tu pár pari reférto, quod eam mórdeat.*

Sic petivi a iudicibus, ut, quoniam quidam nobiles homines et de me optime meriti nimis amarent inimicum meum, meque inspectante saepe eum in senatu modo severe seduce-

rent, modo familiariter atque hilare amplexarentur; quoniamque illi haberent suum Publium, darent mihi ipsi alium Publium, in quo possem illorum animos mediocriter lacessitus leviter repungere. Neque solum dixi, sed etiam saepe facio, diis hominibusque approbantibus. 20. Habes de Vatinio, cognosce de Crasso. Ego, quum mihi cum illo magna iam gratia esset, quod eius omnes gravissimas iniurias communis concordiae caussa voluntaria quadam oblivione contriveram, repentinam eius defensionem Gabinii, quem proximis superioribus diebus acerrime oppugnasset, tamen, si sine ulla mea contumelia suscepisset, tulissem: sed, quum me disputantem, non lacessentem laesisset, exarsi, non solum praesenti, credo, iracundia, (nam ea tam vehemens fortasse non fuisset,) sed quum inclusum illud odium multarum eius in me iniuriarum, quod ego me effudisse omne arbitrabar, residuum tamen insciente me fuisset; omne repente apparuit. Quo quidem tempore ipso quidam homines, et iidem illi, quos saepe nutu significationeque appello, quum se maximum fructum cepisse dicerent ex libertate mea, meque tum denique sibi esse visum reipublicae, qualis fuissem, restitutum, quumque ea contentio mihi magnum etiam foris fructum tulisset: gaudere se dicebant, mihi et illum inimicum et eos, qui in eadam caussa essent, numquam amicos futuros. Quorum iniqui sermones quum ad me per homines honestissimos perferrentur, quumque Pompeius ita contendisset, ut nihil umquam magis, ut cum Crasso redirem in gratiam, Caesarque per litteras maxima se molestia ex illa contentione affectum ostenderet: habui non temporum solum rationem meorum, sed etiam naturae, Crassusque, ut quasi testata populo Romano esset nostra gratia, paene a meis laribus in provinciam est profectus. Nam quum mihi condixisset, caenavit apud me in mei generi Crassipedis hortis. Quamobrem eius caussam, quod te scribis audisse, magna illius commendatione susceptam defendi in senatu, sicut mea fides postulabat. 21. Accepisti, quibus rebus adductus, quamque rem caussamque defenderim: quique meus in republica sit pro mea parte capessenda status. De quo sic velim statuas, me haec eadem sensurum fuisse, si mihi integra omnia ac libera fuissent. Nam neque pugnandum arbitrarer contra tantas opes, neque delendum, etiamsi id fieri posset, summorum civium principatum, neque permanendum in una sententia, conversis rebus ac bonorum voluntatibus

immutatis, sed temporibus assentiendum. Numquam enim praestantibus in republica gubernanda viris laudata est in una sententia perpetua permansio: sed, ut in navigando tempestati obsequi artis est, etiamsi portum tenere non queas: quum vero id possis mutata velificatione assequi, stultum est eum tenere cum periculo cursum, quem ceperis, potius quam, eo commutato, quo velis, tandem pervenire: sic, quum omnibus nobis in administranda republica propositum esse debeat id, quod a me saepissime dictum est, cum dignitate otium, non idem semper dicere, sed idem semper spectare debemus. Quamobrem, ut paullo ante posui, si essent omnia mihi solutissima, tamen in republica non alius essem, atque nunc sum. Quum vero in hunc sensum et alliciar beneficiis hominum, et compellar iniuriis: facile patior, ea me de republica sentire ac dicere, quae maxime quum mihi, tum etiam reipublicae rationibus putem conducere. Apertius autem haec ago ac saepius, quod et Quintus, frater meus, legatus est Caesaris, et nullum meum minimum dictum, non modo factum, pro Caesare intercessit, quod ille non ita illustri gratia exceperit, ut ego eum mihi devinctum putarem. Itaque eius omni et gratia, quae summa est, et opibus, quas intelligis esse maximas, sic fruor, ut meis. Nec mihi aliter potuisse videor hominum perditorum de me consilia frangere, nisi cum praesidiis iis, quae semper habui, nunc etiam potentium benevolentiam coniunxissem. 22. His ego consiliis, si te praesentem habuissem, ut opinio mea fert, essem usus eisdem. Novi enim temperantiam et moderationem naturae tuae; novi animum, quum mihi amicissimum, tum nulla in ceteros malevolentia suffusum, contraque quum magnum et excelsum, tum etiam apertum et simplicem. Vidi ego quosdam in te tales, quales tu eosdem in me videre potuisti. Quae me moverunt, movissent eadem te profecto. Sed, quocumque tempore mihi potestas praesentis tui fuerit, tu eris omnium moderator consiliorum meorum: tibi erit eidem, cui salus mea fuit, etiam dignitas curae. Me quidem certe tuarum actionum, sententiarum, voluntatum, rerum denique omnium socium comitemque habebis: neque mihi in omni vita res tam erit ulla proposita, quam ut quotidie vehementius te de me optime meritum esse laetere.

23. Quod rogas, ut mea tibi scripta mittam, quae post discessum tuum scripserim: sunt *orationes* quaedam, quas Menocrito dabo: neque ita multae; ne pertimescas. Scripsi etiam (nam ab orationibus diiungo me fere, referoque ad mansuetiores Musas, quae me maxime, sicut iam a prima adolescentia, delectant:) scripsi igitur Aristoteleo more, quemadmodum quidem volui, tres libros in disputatione ac dialogo *de Oratore*, quos arbitror Lentulo tuo fore non inutiles. Abhorrent enim a communibus praeceptis, atque omnem antiquorum et Aristoteleam et Isocrateam rationem oratoriam complectuntur. Scripsi etiam versibus tres libros *de temporibus meis*, quos iam pridem ad te misissem, si esse edendos putassem: sunt enim testes, et erunt, sempiterni meritorum erga me tuorum meaeque pietatis: sed verebar, non eos, qui se laesos arbitrarentur, (etenim id feci parce et molliter,) sed eos, quos erat infinitum bene de me meritos omnes nominare. Quos tamen ipsos libros, si quem, cui recte commitam, invenero, curabo ad te perferendos. Atque istam quidem partem vitae consuetudinisque nostrae totam ad te defero. Quantum litteris, quantum studiis, veteribus nostris delectationibus, consequi poterimus, id omne ad arbitrium tuum, qui haec semper amasti, libentissime conferemus. 24. Quae ad me de tuis rebus domesticis scribis, quaeque mihi commendas, ea tantae mihi curae sunt, ut me nolim admoneri: rogari vero sine magno dolore vix possum. Quod de Quinti fratris negotio scribis, te priore aestate, quod morbo impeditus in Ciliciam non transieris, conficere non potuisse; nunc autem omnia facturum, ut conficias: id scito esse eiusmodi, ut frater meus vere existimet, adiuncto isto fundo, patrimonium fore suum per te constitutum. Tu me de tuis rebus omnibus et de Lentuli tui nostrique studiis et exercitationibus velim quam familiarissime certiorem et quam saepissime facias, existimesque neminem cuiquam neque cariorem neque iucundiorem umquam fuisse, quam te mihi: idque me, non modo ut tu sentias, sed ut omnes gentes, etiam ut posteritas omnis intelligat, esse facturum. 25. Appius in sermonibus antea dictitabat, postea dixit etiam in senatu palam: sese, si licitum esset legem curiatam ferre, sortiturum esse cum collega provinciam: si curiata lex non esset, se paraturum cum collega tibique successurum: legem curiatam consuli ferri opus esse, necesse non esse: se, quo-

niam ex senatusconsulto provinciam haberet, lege Cornelia imperium habiturum, quoad in Urbem introisset. Ego, quid ad te tuorum quisque necessariorum scribat, nescio: varias esse opiniones intelligo. Sunt, qui putent, posse te non decedere, quod sine lege curiata tibi succedatur: sunt etiam, qui, si decedas, a te relinqui posse, qui provinciae praesit. Mihi non tam de iure certum est, (quamquam ne id quidem valde dubium est:) quam, illud ad tuam summam amplitudinem, dignitatem, liberalitatem, qua te scio libentissime frui solere, pertinere, te sine ulla mora provinciam successori concedere, praesertim quum sine suspicione tuae cupiditatis non possis illius cupiditatem refutare. Ego utrumque meum puto esse, et, quid sentiam, ostendere, et, quod feceris, defendere.

26. Scripta iam epistola superiore, accepi tuas litteras de publicanis: quibus aequitatem tuam non potui non probare. Facilitate quidem, vellem, consequi potuisses, ne eius ordinis, quem semper ornasti, rem aut voluntatem offenderes. Equidem non desinam tua decreta defendere: sed nosti consuetudinem hominum. Scis, quam graviter inimici ipsi illi Q. Scaevolae fuerint. Tibi tamen sum auctor, ut, si quibus rebus possis, eum tibi ordinem aut reconcilies aut mitiges. Id etsi difficile est, tamen mihi videtur esse prudentiae. [Vale.] (*Ad Div.* I. ix.)

## EPISTOLA XXIX.

(In Tusculano, A.U.C. 700.)

### M. CICERO S. D. Q. FRATRI.

1. Quod quaeris, quid de illis libris egerim, quos, quum essem in Cumano, scribere institui: non cessavi neque cesso: sed saepe iam scribendi totum consilium rationemque mutavi. Nam iam duobus factis libris, in quibus, novendialibus iis feriis, quae fuerunt Tuditano et Aquilio consulibus, sermo est a me institutus Africani, paullo ante mortem, et Laelii, Phili, Manilii, Q. Tuberonis et Laelii, generorum Fannii et Scaevolae: sermo autem in novem et dies et libros distributus de optimo statu civitatis et de optimo cive:

sane texebatur opus luculenter, hominumque dignitas aliquantum orationi ponderis afferebat. Hi libri quum in Tusculano mihi legerentur audiente Salustio: admonitus sum ab illo, multo maiore auctoritate illis de rebus dici posse, si ipse loquerer de republica, praesertim quum essem non Heraclides Ponticus, sed consularis et is, qui in maximis versatus in republica rebus essem. Quae tam antiquis hominibus attribuerem, ea visum iri ficta esse. Oratorium sermonem in illis nostris libris, quod esset de ratione dicendi, belle a me removisse; ad eos tamen retulisse, quos ipse vidissem: Aristotelem denique, quae de republica et praestante viro scribat, ipsum loqui. 2. Commovit me, et eo magis, quod maximos motus nostrae civitatis attingere non poteram, quod erant inferiores, quam illorum aetas, qui loquebantur. Ego autem id ipsum tum eram secutus, ne, in nostra tempora incurrens, offenderem quempiam. Nunc et id vitabo, et loquar ipse tecum, et tamen illa, quae institueram, ad te, si Romam venero, mittam. Puto enim te existimaturum a me libros illos non sine aliquo meo stomacho esse relictos. 3. Caesaris amore, quem ad me perscripsit, unice delector: promissis his, quae ostendit, non valde pendeo: nec honores sitio nec desidero gloriam; magisque eius voluntatis perpetuitatem, quam promissorum exitum exspecto. Vivo tamen in ea ambitione et labore, tamquam id, quod non postulo, exspectem. 4. Quod me de faciendis versibus rogas, incredibile est, mi frater, quam egeam tempore: nec sane satis commoveor animo ad ea, quae vis, canenda. Ὑποθέσεις vero ad ea, quae ipse ego ne cogitando quidem consequor, tu, qui omnes isto eloquendi et exprimendi genere superasti, a me petis? Facerem tamen, ut possem: sed (quod te minime fugit) opus est ad poema quadam animi alacritate, quam plane mihi tempora eripiunt. Abduco equidem me ab omni reipublicae cura, dedoque litteris: sed tamen indicabo tibi, quod mehercule in primis te celatum volebam. Angor, mi suavissime frater, angor, nullam esse rempublicam, nulla iudicia; nostrumque hoc tempus aetatis, quod in illa auctoritate senatoria florere debebat, aut forensi labore iactari, aut domesticis litteris sustentari; illud vero, quod a puero adamaram,

αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,

totum occidisse: inimicos a me partim non oppugnatos, par-

tim etiam esse defensos, meum non modo animum, sed ne odium quidem esse liberum: unumque ex omnibus Caesarem esse inventum, qui me tantum, quantum ego vellem, amaret, aut etiam (sicut alii putant) hunc unum esse, qui vellet. Quorum tamen nihil est eiusmodi, ut ego me non multa consolatione quotidie leniam: sed illa erit consolatio maxima, si una erimus: nunc ad illa vel gravissimum accedit tui desiderium. 5. Gabinium si, ut Pansa putat oportuisse, defendissem, concidissem: qui illum oderunt, (hi sunt toti ordines,) propter quem oderunt, meipsum odisse coepissent. Tenui me, ut puto, egregie, tantum ut facerem, quantum omnes viderent. Et in omni summa, ut mones, valde me ad otium pacemque converto. 6. De libris Tyrannio est cessator. Chrysippo dicam. Sed res operosa est et hominis perdiligentis. Sentio ipse, qui in summo studio nihil assequor. De Latinis vero, quo vertam me, nescio; ita mendose et scribuntur et veneunt: sed tamen, quod fieri poterit, non negligam. Crebrius, ut ante ad te scripsi, Romae est: et qui omnia adiurant debere tibi valde renuntiant. Ab aerario puto confectum esse, dum absum.

7. Quattuor tragoedias XVI diebus absolvisse quum scribas, tu quidquam ab alio mutuaris? et χρέος quaeris, quum Electram et Troadem scripseris? Cessator esse noli: et illud γνῶθι σεαυτόν noli putare ad arrogantiam minuendam solum esse dictum, verum etiam ut bona nostra norimus. Sed et istas et Erigonam mihi velim mittas. Habes ad duas epistolas proximas. (*Ad Q. Fr.* III. v, vi.)

## EPISTOLA XXX.

(Romae, A.U.C. 700.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Puto te existimare, me, nunc oblitum consuetudinis et instituti mei, rarius ad te scribere, quam solebam; sed, quum loca et itinera tua nihil habere certi video, neque in Epirum, neque Athenas, neque in Asiam, neque cuiquam, nisi ad te ipsum proficiscenti, dedi litteras. Neque enim sunt eae

epistolae nostrae, quae si perlatae non sint, nihil ea res nos offensura sit; quae tantum habent mysteriorum, ut eas ne librariis quidem fere committamus. 2. Lepidum quo excidat. Consules flagrant infamia, quod C. Memmius candidatus pactionem in senatu recitavit, quam ipsi et suus competitor Domitius cum consulibus fecissent, uti ambo H-S quadragena consulibus darent, si essent ipsi consules facti, nisi tris augures dedissent, qui se adfuisse dicerent, quum lex curiata ferretur, quae lata non esset; et duo consulares, qui se dicerent in ornandis provinciis consularibus scribendo adfuisse, quum omnino ne senatus quidem fuisset. Haec pactio, non verbis, sed nominibus et perscriptionibus, multorum tabulis quum esse facta diceretur, prolata a Memmio est nominibus inductis, auctore Pompeio. Hic Appius erat idem. Nihil sane iacturae. Corruerat alter, et plane, inquam, iacebat. 3. Memmius autem, dirempta coitione invito Calvino, plane refrixerat; et eo magis nunc cogitare dictaturam, tum favere iustitio et omnium rerum licentiae. Perspice aequitatem animi mei et ludum, et contemptionem Seleucianae provinciae, et mehercule cum Cesare suavissimam coniunctionem, (haec enim me una ex hoc naufragio tabula delectat:) qui quidem Quintum meum tuumque, dii boni! quemadmodum tractat honore, dignitate, gratia! non secus, ac si ego essem imperator. Hiberna legionum eligendi optio delata commodum, ut ad me scribit. Hunc tu non ames? Quem igitur istorum? Sed heus tu, scripseramne tibi, me esse legatum Pompeio? et extra Urbem quidem fore ex Idib. Ian.? Visum est hoc mihi ad multa quadrare. Sed quid plura? Coram, opinor, reliqua; ut tu tamen aliquid exspectes. Dionysio plurimam salutem: cui quidem ego non modo servavi, sed etiam aedificavi locum. Quid quaeris? ad summam laetitiam meam, quam ex tuo reditu capio, magnus illius adventu cumulus accedit. Quo die ad me venies, si me amas, apud me cum tuis maneas. (*Ad Att.* IV. xviii.)

## EPISTOLA XXXI.

(In itinere, A.U.C. 703.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Actium venimus a. d. XVII. Kal. Quint., quum quidem et Corcyrae et Sybotis, muneribus tuis, quae et Areus et meus amicus Eutychides opipare et φιλοπροσηνέστατα nobis congesserant, epulati essemus Saliarem in modum. Actio maluimus iter facere pedibus, qui incommodissime navigassemus; et Leucatam flectere molestum videbatur. Actuariis autem minutis Patras accedere sine his impedimentis, non satis visum est decorum. Ego, ut saepe tu me currentem hortatus es, quotidie meditor, praecipio meis, faciam denique, ut summa modestia et summa abstinentia munus hoc extraordinarium traducamus. Parthus, velim, quiescat, et fortuna nos iuvet; nostra praestabimus. 2. Tu, quaeso, quid agas, ubi quoque tempore futuris sis, quales res nostras Romae reliqueris, maxime de XX et DCCC, cura ut sciamus. Id unis diligenter litteris datis, quae ad me utique perferantur, consequere. Illud tamen (quoniam nunc abes, quum id non agitur: aderis autem ad tempus, ut mihi rescripsisti:) memento curare per te et per omnes nostros, in primis per Hortensium, ut annus noster maneat suo statu, ne quid novi decernatur. Hoc tibi ita mando, ut dubitem, an etiam te rogem, ut pugnes, ne intercaletur. Sed non audeo tibi omnia onera imponere. Annum quidem utique teneto. 3. Cicero meus, modestissimus et suavissimus puer, tibi salutem dicit. Dionysium semper equidem, ut scis, dilexi: sed quotidie pluris facio, et mehercule in primis, quod te amat, nec tui mentionem intermitti sinit. (*Ad Att.* V. ix.)

## EPISTOLA XXXII.

(Athenis, A.U.C. 703.)

### M. T. C. S. P. D. C. MEMMIO.

1. Etsi non satis mihi constiterat, cum aliquane animi mei molestia, an potius libenter te Athenis visurus essem, quod iniuria, quam accepisti, dolore me afficeret, sapientia tua, qua

fers iniuriam, laetitia: tamen vidisse te mallem. Nam quod est molestiae, non sane multo levius est, quum te, non video: quod esse potuit voluptatis, certe, si vidissem te, plus fuisset. Itaque non dubitabo dare operam, ut te videam, quum id satis commode facere potero. Interea, quod per litteras et agi tecum et, ut arbitror, confici potest, agam nunc. 2. Ac tè illud primum rogabo, ne quid invitus mea caussa facias: sed id, quod mea intelliges, tua nullam in partem multum interesse, ita mihi des, si tibi, ut id libenter facias, ante persuaseris. Cum Patrone Epicureo mihi omnia sunt: nisi quod in philosophia vehementer ab eo dissentio. Sed et initio Romae, quum te quoque et tuos omnes observabat, me coluit in primis: et nuper, quum ea, quae voluit, de suis commodis et praemiis consecutus est, me habuit suorum defensorum et amicorum fere principem; et iam a Phaedro, qui nobis, quum pueri essemus, antequam Philonem cognovimus, valde, ut philosophus, postea tamen, ut vir bonus et suavis et officiosus, probabatur, traditus mihi commendatusque est. 3. Is igitur Patro quum ad me Romam litteras misisset, uti te sibi placarem peteremque, ut, nescio quid, illud Epicuri parietinarum sibi concederes: nihil scripsi ad te ob eam rem, quod aedificationis tuae consilium mea commendatione nolebam impediri. Idem, ut veni Athenas, quum idem, ut ad te scriberem, rogasset: ob eam caussam impetravit, quod te abiecisse illam aedificationem constabat inter omnes amicos tuos. 4. Quod si ita est, et si iam plane tua nihil interest, velim, si qua offensiuncula facta est animi tui, perversitate aliquorum, (novi enim gentem illam,) des te ad lenitatem vel propter tuam summam humanitatem vel etiam honoris mei caussa. Equidem, si, quid ipse sentiam, quaeris, nec cur ille tanto opere contendat, video, nec cur tu repugnes: nisi tamen multo minus tibi concedi potest, quam illi, laborare sine caussa. Quamquam Patronis et orationem et caussam tibi cognitam esse certo scio. Honorem, officium, testamentorum ius, Epicuri auctoritatem, Phaedri obtestationem, sedem, domicilium, vestigia summorum hominum, sibi tuenda esse dicit. Totam hominis vitam rationemque, quam sequitur in philosophia, derideamus licet, si hanc eius contentionem volumus reprehendere. Sed, mehercules, quando illi ceterisque, quos illa delectant, non valde inimici sumus; nescio an ignoscendum sit huic, si tanto opere laborat: in quo etiamsi peccat,

magis ineptiis, quam improbitate peccat. 5. Sed ne plura, (dicendum enim aliquando est,) Pomponium Atticum sic amo, ut alterum fratrem. Nihil est illo mihi nec carius nec iucundius. Is (non quo sit ex istis: est enim omni liberali doctrina politissimus: sed valde diligit Patronem, valde Phaedrum amavit,) sic a me hoc contendit, homo minime ambitiosus, minime in rogando molestus, ut nihil umquam magis: nec dubitat, quin ego a te nutu hoc consequi possem, etiam si aedificaturus esses. Nunc vero, si audierit, te aedificationem deposuisse, neque tamen me a te impetrasse; non te in me illiberalem, sed me in se negligentem putabit. Quamobrem peto a te, ut scribas ad tuos, posse tua voluntate decretum illud Areopagitarum, quem ὑπομνηματισμόν illi vocant, tolli. Sed redeo ad prima. 6. Prius velim tibi persuadeas, ut hoc mea caussa libenter facias, quam ut facias. Sic tamen habeto: si feceris, quod rogo, fore mihi gratissimum. Vale. (*Ad Div.* XIII. i.)

## EPISTOLA XXXIII.

(Ad Delum, A.U.C. 703.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Negotium magnum est navigare, atque id mense Quintili. Sexto die Delum Athenis venimus. Pridie Nonas Quintil. a Piraeeo ad Zostera, vento molesto, qui nos ibidem Nonis tenuit. A. d. VIII. Idus ad Ceo iucunde. Inde Gyarum saevo vento, non adverso: hinc Scyrum, inde Delum, utroque citius, quam vellemus, cursum confecimus. Iam nosti ἄφρακτα Rhodiorum: nihil, quod minus fluctum ferre possit. Itaque erat in animo nihil festinare, Delo nec movere, nisi omina ἀκρωτηρίων οὔρια vidissem. 2. De Messalla ad te statim, ut audivi, de Gyaro dedi litteras: et id ipsum consilium nostrum etiam ad Hortensium; cui quidem valde συνηγωνίων. Sed tuas de eius iudicii sermonibus et mehercule omni de reipublicae statu litteras exspecto, πολιτικώτερον quidem scriptas, (quoniam meos cum Thallumeto nostro pervolutas libros,) eiusmodi, inquam, litteras, ex quibus ego, non quid fiat, (nam id vel Helenius, vir gravissimus, potest effi-

cere, cliens tuus,) sed quid futurum sit. Etiam quum haec leges, habebimus consules. Omnia perspicere poteris, de Caesare, de Pompeio, de ipsis iudiciis. 3. Nostra autem negotia quoniam Romae commoraris, amabo te, explica. Cui rei fugerat me rescribere, de strue laterum, plane rogo. De aqua, si quid poterit fieri, eo sis animo, quo soles esse: quam ego quum mea sponte, tum tuis sermonibus aestimo plurimi. Ergo aliquid conficies. Praeterea, si quid Philippus rogavit, quod in sua re faceres, id velim facias. Plura scribam ad te, quum constitero: nunc eram plane in medio mari. (*Ad Att.* V. xii.)

## EPISTOLA XXXIV.

(Ephesi, A.U.C. 703.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Ephesum venimus a. d. XI. Kal. Sext., sexagesimo et quingentesimo post pugnam Bovillanam. Navigavimus sine timore et sine nausea: sed tardius, propter aphractorum Rhodiorum imbecillitatem. De concursu legationum, privatorum et de incredibili multitudine, quae mihi iam Sami, sed mirabilem in modum Ephesi praesto fuit, aut audisse te puto, aut quid ad me attinet? Verumtamen. Decumani, ac si venissem cum imperio, Graeci quasi Ephesio praetori se alacres obtulerunt. Ex quo te intelligere certo scio, multorum annorum ostentationes meas nunc in discrimen esse adductas. Sed, ut spero, utemur ea palaestra, quam a te didicimus; omnibusque satisfaciemus; et eo facilius, quod in nostra provincia confectae sunt pactiones. Sed hactenus, praesertim quum coenanti mihi nuntiaret Caestius se de nocte proficisci. 2. Tua negotia Ephesi curae mihi fuerunt: Thermoque, tametsi ante adventum meum liberalissime erat pollicitus tuis omnibus, tamen Philogenem et Seium tradidi; Apollonidensem Xenonem commendavi. Omnino omnia se facturum recepit. Ego praeterea rationem Philogeni permutationis eius, quam tecum feci, edidi. Ergo haec quoque hactenus. 3. Redeo ad urbana. Per fortunas! quoniam Romae manes, primum illud praefulci atque praemuni, quaeso, ut simus annui; ne intercaletur quidem. Deinde exhauri mea mandata; maximeque, si quid

potest, de illo domestico, scrupulum, quem non ignoras; deinde de Caesare: cuius in cupiditatem te auctore incubui; nec me piget. Et, si intelligis, quam meum sit scire et curare, quid in republica fiat:—fiat autem? immo vero etiam quid futurum sit, perscribe ad me omnia; sed diligentissime: in primisque, ecquid iudiciorum status, aut factorum aut futurorum etiam, laboret. De aqua, si curae est, si quid Philippus aget, animadvertas. (*Ad Att.* V. xiii.)

## EPISTOLA XXXV.

(In itinere ex castris ad Cybistra in Ciliciam, A.U.C. 703.)

### M. TULLIUS M. F. CICERO PROCOS. S. P. D. COSS. PRAETT. TRIBB. PL. SENAT.

1. S. V. V. B. E. E. Q. V. Quum pridie Kalend. Sext. in provinciam venissem, neque maturius propter itinerum et navigationum difficultatem venire potuissem; maxime convenire officio meo, reique publicae conducere putavi, parare ea, quae ad exercitum, quaeque ad rem militarem pertinerent. Quae quum essent a me, cura magis et diligentia, quam facultate et copia, constituta, nuntiique et litterae de bello a Parthis in provinciam Syriam illato quotidie fere afferrentur: iter mihi faciendum per Lycaoniam et per Isauros et Cappadociam arbitratus sum: erat enim magna suspicio, Parthos, si ex Syria egredi atque irrumpere in meam provinciam conarentur, iter eos per Cappadociam, quod ea maxime pateret, esse facturos. 2. Itaque cum exercitu per Cappadociae partem eam, quae cum Cilicia continens est, iter feci, castraque ad Cybistra, quod oppidum est ad montem Taurum, locavi: ut Artuasdes, rex Armenius, quocumque animo esset, sciret, non procul a suis finibus exercitum populi Romani esse, et Deiotarum, fidelissimum regem atque amicissimum reipublicae nostrae, maxime coniunctum haberem, cuius et consilio et opibus adiuvari posset respublica. 3. Quo quum in loco castra haberem equitatumque in Ciliciam misissem, ut et meus adventus, iis civitatibus, quae in ea parte essent, nuntiatus, firmiores animos omnium faceret, et ego mature, quid ageretur in Syria, scire possem, tempus eius tridui, quod in his castris morabar, in magno officio et necessario mihi ponendum putavi.

4. Quum enim vestra auctoritas intercessisset, ut ego regem Ariobarzanem, euseben et philoromaeum tuerer, eiusque regis salutem, incolumitatem regnumque defenderem: regi regnoque praesidio essem: adiunxissetisque, salutem eius regis populo senatuique magnae curae esse, quod nullo umquam de rege decretum esset a nostro ordine: existimavi, me iudicium vestrum ad regem deferre debere eique praesidium meum et fidem et diligentiam polliceri, ut, quum salus ipsius, incolumitas regni mihi commendata esset a vobis, diceret, si quid vellet. 5. Quae quum essem in consilio meo cum rege locutus: initio ille orationis suae vobis maximas, ut debuit, deinde etiam mihi gratias egit, quod ei permagnum et perhonorificum videbatur, S. P. Q. R. tantae curae esse salutem suam: meque tantam diligentiam adhibere, ut et mea fides et commendationis vestrae auctoritas perspici posset. Atque ille primo, quod mihi maximae laetitiae fuit, ita mecum locutus est, ut nullas insidias neque vitae suae neque regno, diceret, se aut intelligere fieri, aut etiam suspicari. Quum ego ei gratulatus essem, idque me gaudere dixissem; cohortatus, ut recordaretur casum illum interitus paterni, et vigilanter se tueretur, atque admonitu senatus consuleret saluti suae: tum a me discessit in oppidum Cybistra. Postero autem die cum Ariarathe, fratre suo, et cum paternis amicis, maioribus natu, ad me in castra venit: perturbatusque et flens, quum idem et frater faceret, et amici, meam fidem, vestram commendationem implorare coepit. Quum admirarer, quid accidisset novi: dixit ad se indicia manifestarum insidiarum esse delata, quae essent ante adventum meum occultata, quod ii, qui ea patefacere possent, propter metum reticuissent: eo autem tempore, spe mei praesidii, complures ea, quae scirent, audacter ad se detulisse; in his amantissimum sui, summa pietate praeditum, fratrem dicere ea, quae is me quoque audiente dicebat, se sollicitatum esse, ut regnare vellet: id vivo fratre suo accidere non potuisse: se tamen ante illud tempus eam rem numquam in medium, propter periculi metum, protulisse. Quae quum esset locutus: monui regem, ut omnem diligentiam ad se conservandum adhiberet; amicosque, patris eius atque avi iudicio probatos, hortatus sum, regis sui vitam, docti casu acerbissimo patris eius, omni cura custodiaque defenderent. 7. Quum rex a me equitatum cohortesque de exercitu meo postularet; etsi intelligebam,

vestro senatus consulto non modo posse me id facere, sed etiam debere: tamen, quum respublica postularet, propter quotidianos ex Syria nuntios, ut quam primum exercitum ad Ciliciae fines adducerem: quumque mihi rex, patefactis iam insidiis, non egere exercitu populi Romani, sed posse se suis opibus defendere videretur, illum cohortatus sum, ut in sua vita conservanda primum regnare disceret: a quibus perspexisset sibi insidias paratas, in eos uteretur iure regio: poena afficeret eos, quos necesse esset: reliquos metu liberaret: praesidio exercitus mei ad eorum, qui in culpa essent, timorem potius, quam ad contentionem uteretur: fore autem, ut omnes, quum senatusconsultum nossent, intelligerent, me regi, si opus esset, ex auctoritate vestra praesidio futurum. 8. Ita confirmato illo, ex eo loco castra movi, iter in Ciliciam facere institui: quum hac opinione e Cappadocia discederem, ut consilio vestro, casu incredibili ac paene divino, regem, quem vos honorificentissime appellassetis, nullo postulante, quemque meae fidei commendassetis, et cuius salutem magnae vobis curae esse decrevissetis, meus adventus praesentibus insidiis liberarit. Quod ad vos a me scribi non alienum putavi, ut intelligeretis ex iis, quae paene acciderunt, vos multo ante, ne ea acciderent, providisse: eoque vos studiosius feci certiores, quod in rege Ariobarzane ea mihi signa videor virtutis, ingenii, fidei, benevolentiaeque erga vos perspexisse, ut non sine caussa tantam curam diligentiamque in eius vos salutem videamini contulisse. (*Ad Div.* XV. ii.)

## EPISTOLA XXXVI.

(Romae, A.U.C. 703.)

### M. CAELIUS S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Etsi, de republica quae tibi scribam, habeo, tamen nihil, quod magis gavisurum te putem, habeo, quam hoc. Scito, C. Sempronium Rufum, Rufum, mel ac delicias tuas, calumniam maximo plausu tulisse. Quaeris, qua in caussa? M. Tuccium, accusatorem suum, post ludos Romanos reum lege Plotia de vi fecit, hoc consilio, quod videbat, si extraordinarius reus nemo accessisset, sibi hoc anno caussam esse dicendam. Dubium porro illi non erat, quid futurum esset.

Nemini hoc deferre munusculum maluit, quam suo accusatori. Itaque sine ullo subscriptore descendit et Tuccium reum fecit. At ego, simul atque audivi, invocatus ad subsellia rei occurro: surgo, neque verbum de re facio: totum Sempronium usque eo perago, ut Vestorium quoque interponam, et illam fabulam narrem, quemadmodum tibi pro beneficio dederit, si quid in iniuriis suis esset, quod Vestorius teneret. 2. Haec quoque magna nunc contentio forum tenet. M. Servilius, postquam, ut coeperat, omnibus in rebus turbarat, nec, quod non venderet, cuiquam reliquerat, maxima nobis traditus erat invidia, neque Laterensis praetor, postulante Pausania, nobis patronis, QUO EA PECUNIA PERVENISSET, recipere voluit. Quod Pilius, necessarius Attici nostri, de repetundis eum postulavit: magna illico fama surrexit, et de damnatione ferventer loqui est coeptum. Quo vento proiicitur Appius minor, ut indicet, pecuniam ex bonis patris pervenisse ad Servilium, praevaricationisque caussa diceret depositum HS LXXXI. Admiraris amentiam. Immo si actiones stultissimasque de se, nefarias de patre confessiones audisses? 3. Mittit in consilium eosdem illos, qui lites aestimarant, iudices. Quum aequo numero sententiae fuissent, Laterensis, leges ignorans, pronuntiavit, quod singuli ordines iudicassent: et ad extremum, *absolutum*, ait, *referam*. Postquam discessit, et pro absoluto Servilius haberi coeptus est, legisque unum et centesimum caput legit, in quo ita erat: QUOD EORUM IUDICUM MAIOR PARS IUDICARIT, ID IUS RATUMQUE ESTO: in tabulas absolutum non retulit, ordinum iudicia perscripsit: postulante rursus Appio, cum L. Lollio transegit, et se relaturum dixit. Sic nunc neque absolutus, neque damnatus, Servilius de repetundis saucius Pilio tradetur. Nam de divinatione Appius quum calumniam iurasset, contendere ausus non est, Pilioque cessit; et ipse de pecuniis repetundis a Serviliis est postulatus, et praeterea de vi reus a quodam emissario suo, Sext. Tettio, factus est. Recte hoc par habet. 4. Quod ad rempublicam pertinet, omnino multis diebus, exspectatione Galliarum, actum nihil est. Aliquando tamen saepe re dilata et graviter acta et plane perspecta Cn. Pompeii voluntate in eam partem, ut eum decedere post Kalendas Martias placeret: senatus consultum, quod tibi misi, factum est auctoritatesque perscriptae.

5. *S. C. auctoritates. Pridie Kal. Octob. in aede Apollinis scrib. adfuerunt L. Domitius, Cn. F. Ahenobarbus, Q. Caecilius, Q. F. Metellus Pius Scipio, L. Villius, L. F. Pompt. Annalis, C. Septimius, T. F. Quirina, C. Lucceius, C. F. Pup. Hirrus, C. Scribonius, C. F. Pop. Curio, L. Atteius, L. F. An. Capito, M. Oppius, M. F. Terentina. Quod M. Marcellus consul V(erba) F(ecit) de provinciis consularibus: D(e) E(a) R(e) I(ta) C(ensuerunt), uti L. Paullus, C. Marcellus consules, quum magistratum inissent, ex a. d. X. Kal. Mart., quae in suo magistratu futurae essent, de consularibus provinciis ad senatum referrent, neve quid prius ex Kalendis Mart. neve quid coniunctim de ea re referretur a consulibus, utique eius rei caussa per dies comitiales senatum haberent, S. Q. C. facerent: et, quum de ea re ad senatum referretur a COSS. qui eorum in CCC iudicibus essent, eos adducere liceret. Si quid de ea re ad populum ad plebemve lato opus esset, uti Ser. Sulpicius, M. Marcellus COSS. praetores, tribunique plebis, quibus eorum videretur, ad populum plebemve referrent: quod ii non tulissent, uti, quicumque deinceps essent, ad populum plebemve ferrent. I. N.*

6. *Prid. Kalend. Octob. in aede Apollinis, scrib. adfuerunt L. Domitius, Cn. F. Ahenobarbus, Q. Metellus, Q. F. Fabius Pius Scipio, L. Villius, L. F. Pompt. Annalis, C. Septimius, T. F. Quirina, C. Scribonius, C. F. Pop. Curio, L. Atteius, L. F. An. Capito, M. Oppius, M. F. Terentina. Quod M. Marcellus COS. V. F. de provinciis, D. E. R. I. C. senatum existimare, neminem eorum, qui potestatem habeant intercedendi, impediendi, moram afferre oportere, quo minus de repub. ad senatum referri, senatique consultum fieri possit. Qui impedierit, prohibuerit, eum senatum existimare contra rempublicam fecisse. Si quis huic senatus consulto intercesserit, senatui placere, auctoritatem perscribi, et de ea re ad senatum populumque referri.*

Huic senatusconsulto intercessit C. Caelius, L. Vinicius, P. Cornelius, C. Vibius Pansa, (trib. pl.).

7. *Item senatui placere, de militibus, qui in exercitu C. Caesaris sint: qui eorum stipendia emerita aut caussas, quibus de caussis missi fieri debeant, habeant, ad hunc ordinem referri, ut eorum ratio habeatur, caussaeque cognoscantur. Si quis huic S. C. intercesserit, senatui placere,*

*auctoritatem perscribi, et de ea re ad senatum populumque referri.*

Huic S. C. intercessit C. Caelius, C. Pansa, tribuni plebis.

8. *Itemque senatui placere, in Ciliciam provinciam, in octo reliquas provincias, quas praetorii pro praetore obtinerent, eos, qui praetores fuerunt neque in provincia cum imperio fuerunt, quos eorum ex S. C. cum imperio in provincias pro praetore mitti oporteret: eos sortito in provincias mitti placere. Si ex eo numero, quos ex S. C. in provincias ire oporteret, ad numerum non essent, qui in eas provincias proficiscerentur: tum, uti quodque collegium primum praetorum fuisset, neque in provincias profecti essent, ita sorte in provinciam proficiscerentur. Si ii ad numerum non essent, tunc deinceps proximi cuiusque collegii, qui praetores fuissent, neque in provincias profecti essent, in sortem coniicerentur, quoad is numerus effectus esset, quem ad numerum in provincias mitti oporteret. Si quis huic S. C. intercessit, auctoritas perscriberetur.*

Huic senatus consulto intercessit C. Caelius, C. Pansa, tribuni plebis. 9. Illa praeterea Cn. Pompeii sunt animadversa, quae maxime confidentiam attulerunt hominibus, ut diceret, se ante Kalend. Mart. non posse sine iniuria de provinciis Caesaris statuere, post Kal. Mart. se non dubitaturum. Quum interrogaretur, si qui tum intercederent: dixit, hoc nihil interesse, utrum C. Caesar senatui dicto audiens futurus non esset, an pararet, qui senatum decernere non pateretur. Quid si, inquit alius, et consul esse, et exercitum habere volet? At ille, quam clementer! *Quid si filius meus fustem mihi impingere volet?* His vocibus, ut existimarent homines, Pompeio cum Caesare esse negotium, effecit. Itaque iam, ut video, alteram utram ad conditionem descendere vult Caesar, ut aut maneat, neque hoc anno sua ratio habeatur, aut, si designari poterit, decedat. 10. Curio se contra eum totum parat. Quid assequi possit, nescio. Illud video, bene sentientem, etsi nihil effecerit, cadere non posse. Me tractat liberaliter Curio, et mihi suo munere negotium imposuit. Nam si mihi non dedisset eas, quae ad ludos ei advectae erant Africanae, potuit supersederi. Nunc, quando dare necesse est, velim tibi curae sit, quod a te semper petii, ut aliquid istinc bestiarum habeamus: Sittianamque syngrapham tibi commendo. Libertum Philonem istuc misi, et

Diogenem Graecum, quibus mandata et litteras ad te dedi. Eos tibi et rem, de qua misi, velim curae habeas. Nam, quam vehementer ad me pertineat, in iis, quas tibi illi reddent, litteris descripsi. (*Ad Div.* VIII. viii.)

## EPISTOLA XXXVII.

(In castris ad Pindenissum, A.U.C. 703.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Saturnalibus mane se mihi Pindenissitae dediderunt, septimo et quinquagesimo die, postquam oppugnare eos coepimus. Qui (malum!) isti Pindenissitae? qui sunt? inquies: nomen audivi numquam. Quid ergo faciam? num potui Ciliciam Aetoliam aut Macedoniam reddere? Hoc iam sic habeto, nec hoc exercitu hic tanta negotia geri potuisse. Quae cognosce ἐν ἐπιτομῇ. Sic enim concedis mihi proximis litteris. Ephesum ut venerim, nosti: qui etiam mihi gratulatus es illius diei celebritatem, qua nihil me umquam delectavit magis. Inde oppidis iis, qua ieram, mirabiliter accepti, Laodiceam pridie Kal. Sext. venimus. Ibi morati biduum, perillustres fuimus, honorificisque verbis omnes injurias revellimus superiores. Quod idem dein Apameae quinque dies morati, et Synnadis triduum, Philomeli quinque dies, Iconii decem, fecimus. Nihil ea iurisdictione aequabilius, nihil lenius, nihil gravius. 2. Inde in castra veni a. d. VII. Kal. Septemb.; a. d. III. exercitum lustravi apud Iconium. Ex his castris, quum graves de Parthis nuntii venirent, perrexi in Ciliciam per Cappadociae partem eam, quae Ciliciam attingit, eo consilio, ut Armenius Artavasdes et ipsi Parthi Cappadocia se excludi putarent. Quum dies quinque ad Cybistra Cappadociae castra habuissem, certior sum factus, Parthos ab illo aditu Cappadociae longe abesse, Ciliciae magis imminere. Itaque confestim iter in Ciliciam feci per Tauri pylas. 3. Tarsum veni a. d. III. Non. Octob. Inde ad Amanum contendi, qui Syriam a Cilicia ima aquarum divortio dividit; qui mons erat hostium plenus sempiternorum. Hic a. d. III. Idus Octob. magnum numerum hostium occidimus. Castella munitissima, nocturno Pomptinii adventu, nostro matutino, cepimus, incendimus. Imperatores appellati sumus. Castra paucos dies habuimus, ea ipsa, quae contra Darium

habuerat apud Issum Alexander, imperator haud paullo melior, quam aut tu, aut ego. Ibi dies quinque morati, direpto et vastato Amano, inde discessimus. Scis enim dici quaedam πανικά, dici item τὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου. Rumore adventus nostri, et Cassio, qui Antiochia tenebatur, animus accessit, et Parthis timor iniectus est. Itaque eos, cedentes ab oppido, Cassius insecutus, rem bene gessit. Qua in fuga, magna auctoritate Osaces, dux Parthorum, vulnus accepit, eoque interiit paucis post diebus. Erat in Syria nostrum nomen in gratia. 4. Venit interim Bibulus. Credo voluit appellatione hac inani nobis esse par. In eodem Amano coepit laureolam in mustaceo quaerere. At ille cohortem primam totam perdidit centurionemque primipili, nobilem sui generis, Asinium Dentonem, et reliquos cohortis eiusdem, et Sex. Lucilium, T. Gavii Caepionis, locupletis et splendidi hominis, filium, tribunum militum. Sane plagam odiosam acceperat quum re, tum tempore. 5. Nos Pindenissum, quod oppidum munitissimum Eleutherocilicum omnium memoria in armis fuit, (feri homines et acres, et omnibus rebus ad defendendum parati,) cinximus vallo et fossa: aggere maximo, vineis, turre altissima, magna tormentorum copia, multis sagittariis, magno labore, apparatu, multis sauciis nostris, incolumi exercitu, negotium confecimus. Hilara sane Saturnalia. Militibus quoque, equis exceptis, reliquam praedam concessimus. Mancipia venibant Saturnalibus tertiis. Quum haec scribebam, in tribunali res erat ad H-S cxx. Hinc exercitum in hiberna agri male pacati deducendum Quinto fratri dabam. Ipse me Laodiceam recipiebam. 6. Haec adhuc. Sed ad praeterita revertamur. Quod me maxime hortaris, et quod pluris est, quam omnia; in quo laboras, ut etiam Ligurino μώμῳ satisfaciam: moriar, si quidquam fieri potest elegantius. Nec iam ego hanc continentiam appello, quae virtus voluptati resistere videtur. Ego in vita mea nulla umquam voluptate tanta sum affectus, quanta afficior hac integritate. Nec me tam fama, quae summa est, quam res ipsa, delectat. Quid quaeris? fuit tanti; me ipse non noram nec satis sciebam, quid in hoc genere facere possem; recte πεφυσίωμαι. Nihil est praeclarius. Interim hac λαμπρά. Ariobarzanes opera mea vivit, regnat. Ἐν παρόδῳ, consilio et auctoritate et, quod insidiatoribus eius ἀπρόσιτον me, nonmodo ἀδωροδόκητον praebui, regem regnumque servavi. Interea e Cappadocia

ne pilum quidem. Atque etiam spero toto anno imperii nostri teruncium sumptus in provincia nullum fore. (Brutum abiectum, quantum potui, excitavi: quem non minus amo, quam tu; paene dixi, quam te.) 7. Habes omnia. Nunc publice litteras Romam mittere parabam. Uberiores erunt, quam si ex Amano misissem. At te Romae non fore! Sed est totum, quod Kal. Mart. futurum est. Vereor enim, ne, quum de provincia agetur, si Caesar resistet, nos retineamur. His tu si adesses, nihil timerem. 8. Redeo ad urbana: quae ego diu ignorans, ex tuis iucundissimis litteris, a. d. v. Kal. Ian. denique cognovi. Eas diligentissime Philogenes, libertus tuus, curavit, perlonga et non satis tuta via, perferendas. Nam quas Laenii pueris scribis datas, non acceperam. Iucunde de Caesare, et quae senatus decrevit, et quae tu speras: quibus ille si cedit, salvi sumus. Incendio Plaetoriano quod Seius ambustus est, minus moleste fero. Lucceius de Q. Cassio cur tam vehemens fuerit, et quid actum sit, aveo scire. 9. Ego, quum Laodiceam venero, Quinto, sororis tuae filio, togam puram iubeor dare; cui moderabor diligentius. Deiotarus, cuius auxiliis magnis usus sum, ad me, ut scripsit, cum Ciceronibus Laodiceam venturus erat. Tuas etiam Epiroticas exspecto litteras; ut habeam rationem non modo negotii, verum etiam otii tui. Nicanor in officio est, et a me liberaliter tractatur: quem, ut puto, Romam cum litteris publicis mittam; ut et diligentius perferantur, et idem ad me certa de te et a te referat. Alexis quod mihi toties salutem ascribit, est gratum. Sed cur non suis litteris idem facit, quod meus ad te Alexis facit? Phemio quaeritur *κέρας*. Sed haec hactenus. Cura, ut valeas, et ut sciam, quando cogites Romam. Etiam atque etiam vale. 10. Tua tuosque Thermo et praesens Ephesi diligentissime commendaram, et nunc per litteras; ipsumque intellexi esse perstudiosum tui. Tu velim, quod antea ad te scripsi, de domo Pammeni, des operam, ut, quod tuo meoque beneficia puer habet, cures, ne qua ratione conuellatur. Utrique nostrum honestum existimo; tum mihi erit pergratum. (*Ad Att.* V. xx.)

## EPISTOLA XXXVIII.

(Cilicia, A.U.C. 704.)

### M. T. C. IMP. S. D. M. CATONI.

1. Summa tua auctoritas fecit, meumque perpetuum de tua singulari virtute iudicium, ut magni mea interesse putarem, et res eas, quas gessissem, tibi notas esse, et non ignorari a te, qua aequitate et continentia tuerer socios provinciamque administrarem. His enim a te cognitis, arbitrabar facilius me tibi, quae vellem, probaturum. 2. Quum in provinciam pridie Kal. Sext. venissem, et propter anni tempus ad exercitum mihi confestim esse eundum viderem, biduum Laodiceae fui, deinde Apameae quatriduum, triduum Synnadis, totidem dies Philomelii. Quibus in oppidis quum magni conventus fuissent, multas civitates acerbissimis tributis et gravissimis usuris et falso aere alieno liberavi. Quumque ante adventum meum seditione quadam exercitus esset dissipatus, quinque cohortes sine legato, sine tribuno militum, denique etiam sine centurione ullo apud Philomelium consedissent, reliquus exercitus esset in Lycaonia: M. Anneio legato imperavi, ut eas quinque cohortes ad reliquum exercitum duceret, coactoque in unum locum exercitu, castra in Lycaonia apud Iconium faceret. 3. Quod quum ab illo diligenter esset actum, ego in castra a. d. VII. Kal. Septemb. veni: quum interea superioribus diebus ex senatusconsulto, et evocatorum firmam manum, et equitatum sane idoneum, et populorum liberorum regumque sociorum auxilia voluntaria comparavissem. Interim quum, exercitu lustrato, iter in Ciliciam facere coepissem: III. Kal. Septemb. legati, a rege Commageno ad me missi, pertumultuose, neque tamen non vere, Parthos in Syriam transisse nuntiaverunt. 4. Quo audito, vehementer sum commotus quum de Syria, tum de mea provincia, de reliqua denique Asia. Itaque exercitum mihi ducendum per Cappadociae regionem eam, quae Ciliciam attingeret, putavi. Nam si me in Ciliciam demisissem, Ciliciam quidem ipsam propter montis Amani naturam facile tenuissem: (duo sunt enim aditus in Ciliciam ex Syria; quorum uterque parvis praesidiis propter angustias intercludi potest, nec est quidquam Cilicia contra Syriam munitius:) sed

me Cappadocia movebat, quae patet a Syria regesque habet finitimos, qui, etiamsi sunt amici nobis, tamen aperte Parthis inimici esse non audent. Itaque in Cappadocia extrema non longe a Tauro apud oppidum Cybistra castra feci, ut et Ciliciam tuerer et, Cappadociam tenens, nova finitimorum consilia impedirem. 5. Interea in hoc tanto motu tantaque exspectatione maximi belli rex Deiotarus, cui non sine caussa plurimum semper et meo et tuo et senatus iudicio tributum est, vir quum benevolentia et fide erga populum Romanum singulari, tum praesentia et magnitudine et animi et consilii, legatos ad me misit, se cum omnibus suis copiis in mea castra esse venturum. Cuius ego studio officioque commotus egi ei per litteras gratias: idque ut maturaret, hortatus sum. 6. Quum autem ad Cybistra propter rationem belli quinque dies essem moratus: regem Ariobarzanem, cuius salutem a senatu te auctore commendatam habebam, praesentibus insidiis nec opinantem liberavi: neque solum ei saluti fui, sed etiam curavi, ut cum auctoritate regnaret. Metram, et eum, quem tu diligenter mihi commendaras, Athenaeum, importunitate Athenaidis exsilio mulctatos, maxima apud regem auctoritate gratiaque constitui. Quumque magnum bellum in Cappadocia concitaretur, si sacerdos armis se, quod facturus putabatur, defenderet, adolescens et equitatu et peditatu et pecunia paratus actutum iis, qui novari aliquid volebant: perfeci, ut e regno ille discederet, rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis, omni auctoritate aulae communita, regnum cum dignitate obtineret. 7. Interea cognovi multorum litteris atque nuntiis, magnas Parthorum copias et Arabum ad oppidum Antiochiam accessisse, magnumque eorum equitatum, qui in Ciliciam transisset, ab equitum meorum turmis et a cohorte praetoria, quae erat Epiphaniae praesidii caussa, occidione occisum. Quare quum viderem a Cappadocia Parthorum copias aversas non longe a finibus esse Ciliciae: quam potui maximis itineribus ad Amanum exercitum duxi. Quo ut veni, hostem ab Antiochia recessisse, Bibulum Antiochiae esse cognovi: Deiotarumque confestim, iam ad me venientem cum magno et firmo equitatu et peditatu, et cum omnibus suis copiis, certiorem feci, non videri esse caussam, cur abesset a regno, meque ad eum, si quid novi forte accidisset, statim litteras nuntiosque missurum esse. 8. Quumque eo animo venissem, ut utrique provinciae,

si ita tempus ferret, subvenirem: tum id, quod iam ante statueram, vehementer interesse utriusque provinciae, pacare Amanum et perpetuum hostem ex eo monte tollere, agere perrexi. Quumque me discedere ab eo monte simulassem, et alias partes Ciliciae petere, abessemque ab Amano iter unius diei, et castra apud Epiphaniam fecissem: a. d. quartum Idus Octobres, quum advesperasceret, expedito exercitu ita noctu iter feci, ut a. d. tertium Idus Octobres, quum lucisceret, in Amanum ascenderem; distributisque cohortibus et auxiliis, quum aliis Q. frater, legatus, mecum simul, aliis C. Pomptinius, legatus, reliquis M. Anneius et L. Tulleius, legati, praeessent: plerosque nec opinantes oppressimus, qui occisi captique sunt, interclusi fuga. Eranam autem, quae fuit non vici instar, sed urbis, quod erat Amani caput, itemque Sepyram et Commorin, acriter et diu repugnantibus, Pomptinio illam partem Amani tenente, ex antelucano tempore usque ad horam diei decimam, magna multitudine hostium occisa, cepimus: castellaque sex capta: complura incendimus. 9. His rebus ita gestis, castra in radicibus Amani habuimus apud Aras Alexandri quatriduum: et in reliquiis Amani delendis agrisque vastandis, quae pars eius montis meae provinciae est, id tempus omne consumpsimus. 10. Confectis his rebus, ad oppidum Eleutherocilicum Pindenissum exercitum adduxi; quod quum esset altissimo et munitissimo loco, ab iisque incoleretur, qui ne regibus quidem umquam paruissent; quum et fugitivos reciperent, et Parthorum adventum acerrime exspectarent: ad existimationem imperii pertinere arbitratus sum, comprimere eorum audaciam; quo facilius etiam ceterorum animi, qui alieni essent ab imperio nostro, frangerentur. Vallo et fossa circumdedi: sex castellis, castrisque maximis sepsi: aggere, vineis, turribus oppugnavi: ususque tormentis multis, multis sagittariis, magno labore meo, sine ulla molestia sumptuve sociorum, septimo quinquagesimo die rem confeci: ut, omnibus partibus urbis disturbatis aut incensis, compulsi in potestatem meam pervenirent. His erant finitimi pari scelere et audacia Tibarani: ab his, Pindenisso capto, obsides accepi: exercitum in hiberna dimisi. Q. fratrem negotio praeposui, ut in vicis aut captis aut male pacatis exercitus collocaretur. 11. Nunc velim tibi sic persuadeas, si de his rebus ad senatum relatum sit, me existimaturum summam mihi laudem tributam, si tu

honorem meum sententia tua comprobaris. Idque, etsi talibus de rebus gravissimos homines et rogare solere et rogari scio, tamen admonendum potius te a me, quam rogandum puto. Tu es enim is qui me tuis sententiis saepissime ornasti: qui oratione, qui praedicatione, qui summis laudibus in senatu, in concionibus ad caelum extulisti: cuius ego semper tanta esse verborum pondera putavi, ut uno verbo tuo, cum mea laude coniuncto, omnia assequi me arbitrarer. Te denique memini, quum cuidam clarissimo atque optimo viro supplicationem non decerneres, dicere, te decreturum, si referretur ob eas res, quas is consul in urbe gessisset. Tu idem mihi supplicationem decrevisti togato, non ut multis, republica bene gesta, sed, ut nemini, republica conservata. 12. Mitto, quod invidiam, quod pericula, quod omnes meas tempestates et subieris, et multo etiam magis, si per me licuisset, subire paratissimus fueris, quod denique inimicum meum tuum inimicum putaris: cuius etiam interitum, ut facile intelligerem, mihi quantum tribueres, Milonis caussa in senatu defendenda, approbaris. A me autem haec sunt profecta, quae ego in beneficii loco non pono, sed in veri testimonii atque iudicii; ut praestantissimas tuas virtutes non tacitus admirarer, (quis enim in te id non facit?) sed in omnibus orationibus, sententiis dicendis, caussis agendis, omnibus scriptis, Graecis, Latinis, omni denique varietate litterarum mearum, te non modo iis, quos vidissemus, sed iis, de quibus audissemus, omnibus anteferrem. 13. Quaeres fortasse, quid sit, quod ego hoc nescio quid gratulationis et honoris a senatu tanti aestimem. Agam iam tecum familiariter, ut est et studiis et officiis nostris mutuis et summa amicitia dignum, et necessitudine etiam paterna. Si quisquam fuit umquam remotus et natura, et magis etiam, ut mihi quidem sentire videor, ratione atque doctrina, ab inani laude et sermonibus vulgi, ego profecto is sum. Testis est consulatus meus: in quo, sicut in reliqua vita, fateor, ea me studiose secutum, ex quibus vera gloria nasci posset: ipsam quidem gloriam per se numquam putavi expetendam. Itaque et provinciam ornatam et spem non dubiam triumphi neglexi. Sacerdotium denique, quum (quemadmodum te existimare arbitror) non difficillime consequi possem, non appetivi. Idem post iniuriam acceptam, (quam tu reipublicae calamitatem semper appellas, ego meam non modo non calamitatem,

sed etiam gloriam,) studui quam ornatissima senatus populique Romani de me iudicia intercedere. Itaque et augur postea fieri volui, quod antea neglexeram, et eum honorem, qui a senatu tribui rebus bellicis solet, neglectum a me olim, nunc mihi expetendum puto. 14. Huic meae voluntati, in qua inest aliqua vis desiderii ad sanandum vulnus iniuriae, ut faveas adiutorque sis, quod paullo ante me negaram rogaturum, vehementer te rogo, sed ita, si non ieiunum hoc nescio quid, quod ego gessi, et contemnendum videbitur, sed tale atque tantum, ut multi, nequaquam paribus rebus, honores summos a senatu consecuti sint. Equidem etiam mihi illud animum advertisse videor, (scis enim, quam attente te audire soleam:) te non tam res gestas, quam mores, instituta atque vitam imperatorum spectare solere in habendis aut non habendis honoribus. Quod si in mea caussa considerabis, reperies, me exercitu imbecillo, contra metum maximi belli, firmissimum praesidium habuisse aequitatem et continentiam. His ego subsidiis ea sum consecutus, quae nullis legionibus consequi potuissem, ut ex alienissimis sociis amicissimos, ex infidelissimis firmissimos redderem, animosque novarum rerum exspectatione suspensos ad veteris imperii benevolentiam traducerem. 15. Sed nimis haec multa de me, praesertim ad te, a quo uno omnium sociorum querelae audiuntur; cognosces ex iis, qui meis institutis se recreatos putant. Quumque omnes uno prope consensu de me apud te ea, quae mihi optatissima sunt, praedicabunt, tum duae maximae clientelae tuae, Cyprus insula et Cappadociae regnum, tecum de me loquentur: puto etiam regem Deiotarum, qui uni tibi est maxime necessarius. Quae si etiam maiora sunt et in omnibus saeculis pauciores viri reperti sunt, qui suas cupiditates, quam qui hostium copias vincerent: est profecto tuum, quum ad res bellicas haec, quae rariora et difficiliora sunt, genera virtutis adiunxeris, ipsas etiam illas res gestas iustiores et maiores putare. 16. Extremum illud est, ut, quasi diffidens rogationi meae, philosophiam ad te allegem, qua nec mihi carior ulla umquam res in vita fuit, nec hominum generi maius a diis munus ullum est datum. Haec igitur, quae mihi tecum communis est, societas studiorum atque artium nostrarum, quibus a pueritia dediti ac devincti, soli propemodum nos philosophiam illam veram et antiquam, quae quibusdam otii esse ac desidiae videtur, in forum atque in

rempublicam atque in ipsam aciem paene deduximus, tecum agit de mea laude, cui negari a Catone fas esse non puto. Quamobrem tibi sic persuadeas, velim: si mihi tua sententia tributus honos ex meis litteris fuerit, me sic existimaturum, quum auctoritate tua, tum benevolentia erga me, mihi, quod maxime cupierim, contigisse. Vale. (*Ad Div.* XV. iv.)

## EPISTOLA XXXIX.

(Romae, A.U.C. 704.)

### M. CATO S. P. D. M. T. C. IMP.

1. Quod et respublica me et nostra amicitia hortatur, libenter facio, ut tuam virtutem, innocentiam, diligentiam, cognitam in maximis rebus, domi togati, armati foris, pari industria administrari gaudeam. Itaque, quod pro meo iudicio facere potui, ut innocentia consilioque tuo defensam provinciam, servatum Ariobarzanis cum ipso rege regnum, sociorum revocatam ad studium imperii nostri voluntatem, sententia mea et decreto laudarem, feci. 2. Supplicationem decretam, si tu, qua in re nihil fortuito, sed summa tua ratione et continentia, reipublicae provisum est, diis immortalibus gratulari nos, quam tibi referre acceptum mavis, gaudeo. Quod si triumphi praerogativam putas supplicationem, et idcirco casum potius, quam te laudari mavis: neque supplicationem sequitur semper triumphus, et triumpho multo clarius est, senatum iudicare, potius mansuetudine et innocentia imperatoris provinciam, quam vi militum aut benignitate deorum retentam atque conservatam esse: quod ego mea sententia censebam. 3. Atque haec ego idcirco ad te contra consuetudinem meam pluribus scripsi, ut, quod maxime volo, existimes, me laborare, ut tibi persuadeam, me et voluisse de tua maiestate, quod amplissimum sim arbitratus, et quod tu maluisti, factum esse gaudere. Vale, et nos dilige, et instituto itinere severitatem diligentiamque sociis et reipublicae praesta. (*Ad Div.* XV. v.)

## EPISTOLA XL.

(Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Accepi tuas litteras a. d. quintum Terminalia Laodiceae; quas legi libentissime, plenissimas amoris, humanitatis, officii, diligentiae. His igitur respondebo: sic enim postulas: nec *οἰκονομίαν* meam instituam; sed ordinem conservabo tuum. Recentissimas a Cybistris te meas litteras habere ais, a. d. x. Kal. Octob. datas: et scire vis, tuas ego quas acceperim. Omnes fere, quas commemoras, praeter eas, quas scribis Lentuli pueris et Equotutico et Brundisio datas. Quare non *οἴχεται* tua industria, quod vereris, sed praeclare ponitur; si quidem id egisti, ut ego delectarer. Nam nulla re sum delectatus magis. 2. Quod meam *βαθύτητα* in Appio tibi, libertatem etiam in Bruto probo, vehementer gaudeo: ac putaram secus. Appius enim ad me ex itinere bis terve *ὑπομεμψιμοίρους* litteras miserat, quod quaedam a se constituta rescinderem. Ut, si medicus, quum aegrotus alii medico traditus sit, irasci velit ei medico, qui sibi successerit, si, quae ipse in curando constituerit, mutet ille: sic Appius, quum *ἐξ ἀφαιρέσεως* provinciam curarit, sanguinem miserit, quidquid potuit, detraxerit, mihi tradiderit enectam, *προσανατρεφομένην* eam a me non libenter videt; sed modo succenset, modo gratias agit. Nihil enim a me fit cum ulla illius contumelia: tantummodo dissimilitudo meae rationis offendit hominem. Quid enim potest esse tam dissimile, quam illo imperante exhaustam esse sumptibus et iacturis provinciam; nobis eam obtinentibus, nummum nullum esse erogatum nec privatim, nec publice? Quid dicam de illius praefectis, comitibus, legatis? etiam de rapinis? de libidinibus? de contumeliis? Nunc autem domus mehercule nulla tanto consilio aut tanta disciplina gubernatur, aut tam modesta est, quam nostra tota provincia. Haec nonnulli amici Appii ridicule interpretantur: qui me idcirco putent bene audire velle, ut ille male audiat, et recte facere non meae laudis, sed illius contumeliae caussa. Sin Appius, ut Bruti litterae, quas ad te misit, significabant, gratias nobis agit, non moleste fero: sed tamen eo ipse die, quo haec ante lucem scribebam, cogitabam eius multa inique constituta et acta tollere. 3.

Nunc venio ad Brutum, quem ego omni studio, te auctore, sum complexus: quem etiam amare coeperam: sed, dico, revocavi me, ne te offenderem. Noli enim putare, me quidquam maluisse, quam ut mandarat is, facere: nec ulla de re plus laborasse. Mandatorum autem mihi libellum dedit: iisdemque de rebus tu mecum egeras. Omnia sum diligentissime persecutus. Primum, ab Ariobarzane sic contendi, ut talenta, quae mihi pollicebatur, illi daret. Quoad mecum rex fuit, perbono loco res erat: post a Pompeii procuratoribus sexcentis premi coeptus est. Pompeius autem quum ob ceteras caussas plus potest unus, quam ceteri omnes, tum quod putatur ad bellum Parthicum esse venturus. Ei tamen sic nunc solvitur: tricesimo quoque die talenta Attica XXXIII, et hoc ex tributis: nec id satis efficitur in usuram menstruam. Sed Cnaeus noster clementer id fert; sorte caret; usura nec ea solida contentus est. Alii neque solvit cuiquam nec potest solvere. Nullum enim aerarium, nullum vectigal habet. Appii instituto tributa imperat. Ea vix, in foenus Pompeii quod satis sit, efficiunt. Amici regis duo tresve perdivites sunt: sed ii suum tam diligenter tenent, quam ego aut tu. Equidem non desino tamen per litteras rogare, suadere, accusare regem. 4. Deiotarus etiam mihi narravit, se ad eum legatos misisse de re Bruti: eos sibi responsum retulisse, illum non habere. Et mehercule ego ita iudico, nihil illo regno spoliatius, nihil rege egentius. Itaque aut tutela cogito me abdicare, aut, ut pro Glabrione Scaevola, foenus et impendium recusare. Ego tamen, quas per te Bruto promiseram praefecturas, M. Scaptio, L. Gavio, qui in regno rem Bruti procurabant, detuli. Nec enim in provincia mea negotiabantur. Tu autem meministi, nos sic agere, ut, quot vellet, praefecturas sumeret, dum ne negotiatori. Itaque duas ei praeterea dederam. Sed ii, quibus petierat, de provincia decesserant. 5. Nunc cognosce de Salaminiis: quod video tibi etiam novum accidisse, tamquam mihi. Numquam enim ex illo audivi, illam pecuniam esse suam. Quin etiam libellum ipsius habeo, in quo est, *Salaminii pecuniam debent M. Scaptio et P. Matinio, familiaribus meis.* Eos mihi commendat: ascribit etiam et quasi calcar admovet, intercessisse se pro iis magnam pecuniam. Confeceram, ut solverent, centesimis sexennii ductis cum renovatione singulorum annorum. At Scaptius quaternas postulabat. Metui, si

impetrasset, ne tu ipse me amare desineres. Nam ab edicto meo recessissem, et civitatem, in Catonis et in ipsius Bruti fide locatam meisque beneficiis ornatam, funditus perdidissem. 6. Atque hoc tempore ipso impingit mihi epistolam Scaptius Bruti, rem illam suo periculo esse: (quod nec mihi umquam Brutus dixerat, nec tibi;) etiam, ut praefecturam Scaptio deferrem. Id vero per te exceperamus, ne negotiatori; quod si cuiquam, huic tamen non. Fuerat enim praefectus Appio; et quidem habuerat turmas equitum, quibus inclusum in curia senatum Salamine obsederat, ut fame senatores quinque morerentur. Itaque ego, quo die provinciam tetigi, quum mihi Cyprii legati Ephesum obviam venissent, litteras misi, ut equites ex insula statim decederent. His de caussis credo Scaptium iniquius de me aliquid ad Brutum scripsisse. Sed tamen hoc sum animo: si Brutus putabit me quaternas centesimas oportuisse decernere, qui in tota provincia singulas observarem, itaque edixissem, idque etiam acerbissimis foeneratoribus probaretur; si praefecturam negotiatori denegatam queretur, quod ego Torquato nostro in tuo Laenio, Pompeio ipsi in Sext. Statio negavi, et iis probavi; si equites deductos moleste feret: accipiam equidem dolorem, mihi illum irasci, sed multo maiorem, non esse eum talem, qualem putassem. 7. Illud quidem fatebitur Scaptius, me ius dicente, sibi omnem pecuniam ex edicto meo auferendi potestatem fuisse. Addo etiam illud, quod vereor, tibi ipsi ut probem: consistere usura debuit, quae erat in edicto meo. Deponere volebant: impetravi ab Salaminiis, ut silerent. Veniam illi quidem mihi dederunt: sed quid iis fiet, si huc Paullus venerit? Sed totum hoc Bruto dedi, qui de me ad te humanissimas litteras scripsit: ad me autem, etiam quum rogat aliquid, contumaciter, arroganter, ἀκοινωνήτως solet scribere. Tu autem velim ad eum scribas de his rebus, ut sciam, quo modo haec accipiat. Facies enim me certiorem. Atque hoc superioribus litteris ad te diligenter perscripseram: sed plane te intelligere volui, mihi non excidisse illud, quod tu ad me quibusdam litteris scripsisses; si nihil aliud de hac provincia, nisi illius benevolentiam, deportassem, mihi id satis esse. Sit sane, quoniam ita tu vis: sed tamen cum eo, credo, quod sine peccato meo fiat. Igitur meo decreto soluta res Scaptio statim. Id quam rectum sit, tu iudicabis; ne ad Catonem quidem provocabo. 8. Sed noli me putare ἐγκελεύσματα illa tua abiecisse, quae

mihi in visceribus haerent. Flens mihi meam famam commendasti. Quae epistola tua est, in qua mentionem non facias? Itaque irascatur, qui volet; patiar. Τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ' ἐμοῦ, praesertim quum sex libris, tamquam praedibus, me ipsum obstrinxerim, quos tibi tam valde probari gaudeo; e quibus unum ἱστορικόν requiris de Cn. Flavio Cn. F. Ille vero ante decemviros non fuit: quippe qui aedilis curulis fuerit: qui magistratus multis annis post decemviros institutus est. Quid ergo profecit, quod protulit fastos? occultatam putant quodam tempore istam tabulam, ut dies agendi peterentur a paucis. Nec vero pauci sunt auctores, Cn. Flavium scribam fastos protulisse, actionesque composuisse: ne me hoc, vel potius Africanum, (is enim loquitur,) commentum putes. Οὐκ ἔλαθέ σε illud de gestu histrionis; tu sceleste suspicaris, ego ἀφελῶς scripsi. 9. De me imperatore scribis te ex Philotimi litteris cognosse. Sed credo te, iam in Epiro quum esses, binas meas de omnibus rebus accepisse, unas a Pindenisso capto, alteras a Laodicea, utrasque tuis pueris datas. Quibus de rebus, propter casum navigandi, per binos tabellarios misi Romam litteras publice. 10. De Tullia mea tibi assentior; scripsique ad eam et ad Terentiam, mihi placere. Tu enim ad me iam ante scripseras, *ac vellem te in tuum veterem gregem retulisses.* Correcta vero epistola Memmiana, nihil negotii fuit. Multo enim malo hunc a Pontidia, quam illum a Servilia. Quare adiunges Aufium nostrum, hominem semper amantem mei; nunc, credo, eo magis, quod debet etiam fratris Appii amorem erga me cum reliqua hereditate crevisse; qui declaravit, quanti me faceret, quum saepe, tum in Bursa. Nae tu me sollicitudine magna liberaris. 11. Furnii exceptio mihi non placet. Nec enim ego ullum aliud tempus timeo, nisi quod ille solum excipit. Sed scriberem ad te de hoc plura, si Romae esses. In Pompeio te spem omnem otii ponere non miror; ita res est; removendumque censeo illud *dissimulantem.* Sed enim, οἰκονομία si perturbatior est, tibi assignato: te enim sequor σχεδιάζοντα. 12. Cicerones pueri amant inter se, discunt, exercentur: sed alter, uti dixit Isocrates in Ephoro et Theopompo, frenis eget, alter calcaribus. Quinto togam puram Liberalibus cogitabam dare: mandavit enim pater. Ea sic observabo, quasi intercalatum non sit. Dionysius mihi quidem in amoribus est. Pueri autem aiunt, eum furenter

irasci. Sed homo non doctior, nec sanctior fieri potest, nec tui meique amantior. 13. Thermum, Silium vere audis laudari. Valde se honeste gerunt. Adde M. Nonium, Bibulum; me, si voles. Iam Scrofa, vellem, haberet, ubi posset. Est enim lautum negotium. Ceteri infirmant πολίτευμα Catonis. Hortensio quod caussam meam commendas, valde gratum. De Amiano, spei nihil putat esse Dionysius. Terentii nullum vestigium agnovi. Moeragenes certe periit. Feci iter per eius possessionem, in qua animal reliquum nullum est. Haec non noram tum, cum Democrito tuo quum locutus sum. Rhosiaca vasa mandavi. Sed heus tu, quid cogitas? in felicatis lancibus et splendidissimis canistris, olusculis nos soles pascere; quid te in vasis fictilibus appositurum putem? Κέρας Phemio mandatum est: reperietur; modo aliquid illo dignum canat. 14. Parthicum bellum impendet. Cassius ineptas litteras misit. Necdum Bibuli erant allatae: quibus recitatis, puto fore, ut aliquando commoveatur senatus. Equidem sum in magna animi perturbatione. Si, ut opto, non prorogatur nostrum negotium; habeo Iunium et Quintilem in metu. Esto; duo quidem menses sustinebit Bibulus. Quid illo fiet, quem reliquero, praesertim si fratrem? quid me autem, si non tam cito decedo? Magna turba est. Mihi tamen cum Deiotaro convenit, ut ille in meis castris esset cum suis copiis omnibus. Habet autem cohortes quadringenarias nostra armatura xxx; equitum CIƆ CIƆ. Erit ad sustentandum, quoad Pompeius veniat; qui litteris, quas ad me mittit, significat, suum negotium illud fore. Hiemant in nostra provincia Parthi. Exspectatur ipse Orodes. Quid quaeris? aliquantum est negotii. 15. De Bibuli edicto, nihil novi, praeter illam exceptionem, de qua tu ad me scripseras, *nimis gravi praeiudicio in ordinem nostrum.* Ego tamen habeo ἰσοδυναμοῦσαν, sed tectiorem, ex Q. Mucii P. F. edicto Asiatico, *extra quam si ita negotium gestum est, ut eo stari non oporteat, ex fide bona*: multaque sum secutus Scaevolae; in iis illud, in quo sibi libertatem censent Graeci datam, ut Graeci inter se disceptent suis legibus. Breve autem edictum est propter hanc meam διαίρεσιν, quod duobus generibus edicendum putavi: quorum unum est provinciale, in quo est de rationibus civitatum, de aere alieno, de usura, de syngraphis: in eodem omnia de publicanis; alterum, quod sine edicto satis commode

transigi non potest, de hereditatum possessionibus, de bonis possidendis, vendendis, magistris faciendis: quae ex edicto et postulari et fieri solent. Tertium, de reliquo iure dicundo, *ἄγραφον* reliqui. Dixi me de eo genere mea decreta ad edicta urbana accommodaturum; itaque curo et satisfacio adhuc omnibus. Graeci vero exsultant, quod peregrinis iudicibus utuntur. Nugatoribus quidem, inquies. Quid refert? Tamen se *αὐτονομίαν* adeptos putant. Vestri enim, credo, graves habent, Turpionem sutorium et Vettium mancipem. 16. De publicanis quid agam, videris quaerere. Habeo in deliciis, obsequor, verbis laudo, orno; efficio, ne cui molesti sint. *Τὸ παραδοξότατον*, usuras eorum, quas pactionibus ascripserant, servavit etiam Servilius. Ego sic. Diem statuo satis laxam; quam ante si solverint, dico, me centesimas ducturum: si non solverint, ex pactione. Itaque et Graeci solvunt tolerabili foenore et publicanis res est gratissima. Sic illa iam habent, pleno modio, verborum honorem, invitationem crebram. Quid plura? Sunt omnes ita mihi familiares, ut se quisque maxime putet. Sed tamen *μηδὲν αὐτοῖς*. Scis reliqua. 17. De statua Africani, (*ὢ πραγμάτων ἀσυγκλώστων*! sed me ipsum delectavit in tuis litteris,) ain' tu? Scipio hic Metellus proavum suum nescit censorem non fuisse? Atqui nihil habuit aliud inscriptum, nisi CENS., ea statua, quae ad Opis per te posita in excelso est. In illa item, quae est ad Πολυδεύκους, hercule inscriptum est, CENS., quam esse eiusdem, status, amictus, annulus, imago ipsa declarat. At mehercule ego quum in turma inauratarum equestrium, quas hic [Metellus] in Capitolio posuit, animadvertissem Serapionis subscriptionem in Africani imagine, erratum fabrile putavi, nunc video Metelli. O! *ἀνιστορησίαν* turpem! 18. Nam illud de Flavio et fastis, si secus est, commune erratum est; et tu belle *ἠπόρησας*, et nos publicam prope opinionem secuti sumus, ut multa apud Graecos. Quis enim non dixit, Εὔπολιν, *τὸν τῆς ἀρχαίας*, ab Alcibiade, navigante in Siciliam, deiectum esse in mare? Redarguit Eratosthenes: Affert enim, quas ille post id tempus fabulas docuerit. Num idcirco Duris Samius, homo in historia diligens, quod cum multis erravit, irridetur? Quis Zaleucum leges Locris scripsisse non dixit? Num igitur iacet Theophrastus, si id a Timaeo, tuo familiari, reprehensum est? Sed nescire proavum suum censorem non fuisse, turpe est;

praesertim quum post eum consulem nemo Cornelius, illo vivo, censor fuerit. 19. Quod de Philotimo et de solutione H-S XX DC scribis; Philotimum circiter Kalend. Ianuar. in Chersonesum audio venisse: ac mihi ab eo nihil adhuc. Reliqua mea Camillus scribit se accepisse; ea quae sint, nescio et aveo scire. Verum haec posterius et coram fortasse commodius. 20. Illud me, mi Attice, in extrema fere parte epistolae commovit: scribis enim sic, *τί λοιπόν?* Deinde me obsecras amantissime, ne obliviscar vigilare, et ut animadvertam, quae fiant. Num quid de quo inaudisti? etsi nihil eius modi est. *Πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ.* Nec enim me fefellisset, nec fallet. Sed ista admonitio tua tam accurata nescio quid mihi significare visa est. 21. De M. Octavio iterum iam tibi rescribo, te illi probe respondisse paullo vellem fidentius. Nam Caelius libertum ad me misit et litteras accurate scriptas: sed de pantheris foede ac civitatibus. Rescripsi, alterum me moleste ferre, si ego in tenebris laterem, nec audiretur Romae, nullum in mea provincia nummum, nisi in aes alienum, erogari; docuique nec mihi conciliare pecuniam licere nec illi capere; monuique eum, quem plane diligo, ut, quum alios accusasset, cautius viveret: illud autem alterum, alienum esse existimatione mea, Cibyratas imperio meo publice venari. 22. Lepta tua epistola gaudio exsultat. Etenim scripta belle est, meque apud eum magna in gratia posuit. Filiola tua gratum mihi fecit, quod tibi diligenter mandavit, ut mihi salutem ascriberes: gratum etiam Pilia: sed illa officiosius, quod mihi, quem iam pridem numquam vidit. Igitur tu quoque salutem utrique ascribito. Litterarum datarum prid. Kal. Ianuar. suavem habuit recordationem clarissimi iurisiurandi: quod ego non eram oblitus. Magnus enim praetextatus illo die fui. Habes ad omnia, non, ut postulasti, *χρύσεα χαλκείων*, sed paria paribus respondimus. 23. Ecce autem alia pusilla epistola; quam non relinquam *ἀναντιφώνητον.* Bene mehercule potuit Lucceius Tusculanum: nisi forte—: solet enim cum suo tibicine; et velim scire, quis sit status eius. Lentulum quidem nostrum præ ære Tusculanum proscripsisse audio. Cupio hos expeditos videre: cupio etiam Sestium; adde, si vis, Caelium; quibus omnibus est,

*αἴδεσθεν μὲν ἀνήνασθαι, δεῖσαν δ' ὑποδέχθαι.*

De Memmio restituendo ut Curio cogitet, te audisse puto. De

Egnatii Sidicini nomine, nec ulla nec magna spe sumus. Pinarium, quem mihi commendas, diligentissime Deiotarus curat, graviter aegrum. Respondi etiam minori. 24. Tu, velim, dum ero Laodiceae, id est, ad Idus Mai. quam saepissime mecum per litteras colloquare: et quum Athenas veneris, (iam enim sciemus de rebus urbanis, de provinciis, quae omnia in mensem Martium sunt collata,) utique ad me tabellarios mittas. 25. Sed heus tu, iamne vos a Caesare, per Herodem, talenta Attica L extorsistis? In quo, ut audio, magnum odium Pompeii suscepistis. Putat enim, suos nummos vos comedisse, Caesarem in Nemorensi aedificando diligentiorem fore. Hoc ego ex P. Vedio, magno nebulone, sed Pompeii tamen familiari, audivi. Hic Vedius venit mihi obviam cum duobus essedis, et rheda equis iuncta, et lectica et familia magna: pro qua, si Curio legem pertulerit, H-S centena pendat necesse est. Erat praeterea cynocephalus in essedo: nec deerant onagri. Numquam vidi hominem nequiorem. Sed extremum audi. Deversatus est Laodiceae apud Pompeium Vindullum: ibi sua deposuit, quum ad me profectus est. Moritur interim Vindullus: quae res ad Magnum Pompeium pertinere putabatur. C. Vennonius domum Vindulli venit: quum omnia obsignaret, in Vedianas res incidit. In his inventae sunt quinque plangunculae matronarum, in quibus una sororis amici tui, hominis Bruti, qui hoc utatur, et illius Lepidi, qui haec tam negligenter ferat. Haec te volui *παριστορῆσαι*. Sumus enim ambo belle curiosi. 26. Unum etiam velim cogites. Audio Appium *προπύλαιον* Eleusine facere. Num inepti fuerimus, si nos quoque Academiae fecerimus? Puto, inquies. Ergo id ipsum scribes ad me. Equidem valde ipsas Athenas amo. Volo esse aliquod monumentum. Odi falsas inscriptiones statuarum alienarum. Sed ut tibi placebit: faciesque me, in quem diem Romana incidant mysteria, certiorem, et quo modo hiemaris. Cura ut valeas. Post Leuctricam pugnam die septingentesimo sexagesimo quinto. (*Ad Att.* VI. i.)

## EPISTOLA XLI.

(Laodiceae, A.U.C. 704.)

### M. T. C. S. D. APPIO PULCHRO.

1. Quum est ad nos allatum de temeritate eorum, qui tibi negotium facesserent, etsi graviter primo nuntio commotus sum, quod nihil tam praeter opinionem meam accidere potuit: tamen, ut me collegi, cetera mihi facillima videbantur, quod et in te ipso maximam spem, et in tuis magnam habebam multaque mihi veniebant in mentem, quamobrem istum laborem tibi etiam honori putarem fore. Illud plane moleste tuli, quod certissimum et iustissimum triumphum hoc invidorum consilio esse tibi ereptum videbam. Quod tu si tanti facies, quanti ego semper iudicavi faciendum esse, facies sapienter, et ages victor ex inimicorum dolore triumphum iustissimum. Ego enim plane video fore, nervis, opibus, sapientia tua, vehementer ut inimicos tuos poeniteat intemperantiae suae. De me tibi, contestans omnes deos, promitto atque confirmo, me pro tua dignitate (malo enim sic dicere, quam pro salute), in hac provincia, cui tu prae fuisti, rogando deprecatoris, laborando propinqui, auctoritate cari hominis (ut spero) apud civitates, gravitate imperatoris suscepturum officia atque partes. Omnia volo a me et postules et exspectes: vincam meis officiis cogitationes tuas. 2. Q. Servilius perbreves mihi a te litteras reddidit, quae mihi tamen nimis longae visae sunt: iniuriam enim mihi fieri putabam, quum rogabar. Nollem accidisset tempus, in quo perspicere posses, quanti te, quanti Pompeium, quem unum ex omnibus facio, ut debeo, plurimi, quanti Brutum facerem: quamquam in consuetudine quotidiana perspexisses, sicut perspicies: sed, quoniam accidit, si quid a me praetermissum erit, commissum facinus et admissum dedecus confitebor. 3. Pomptinius, qui a te tractatus est praestanti ac singulari fide, cuius tui beneficii sum ego testis, praestat tibi memoriam benevolentiamque, quam debet: qui, quum maximis rebus suis coactus a me invitissimo decessisset, tamen, ut vidit interesse tua, conscendens iam navem, Epheso Laodiceam revertit. Talia te quum studia videam habiturum esse innumerabilia, plane dubitare non possum, quin tibi amplitudo ista sollicitudo futura sit. Si vero effeceris, ut censores

creentur, et si ita gesseris censuram, ut et debes et potes: non tibi solum, sed tuis omnibus video in perpetuum summo te praesidio futurum. Illud pugna et enitere, ne quid nobis temporis prorogetur: ut, quum hic tibi satisfecerimus, istic quoque nostram in te benevolentiam navare possimus. 4. Quae de hominum atque ordinum omnium erga te studiis scribis ad me, minime mihi miranda et maxime iucunda acciderunt: eademque ad me perscripta sunt a familiaribus meis. Itaque capio magnam voluptatem, quum tibi, cuius mihi amicitia non solum ampla, sed etiam iucunda est, ea tribui, quae debeantur; tum vero remanere etiam nunc in civitate nostra studia, prope omnium consensu, erga fortes et industrios viros: quae mihi ipsi una semper tributa merces est laborum et vigiliarum mearum. 5. Illud vero mihi permirum accidit, tantam temeritatem fuisse in eo adolescente, cuius ego salutem duobus capitis iudiciis summa contentione defendi, ut, tuis inimicitiis suscipiendis, oblivisceretur patroni omnium fortunarum ac rationum suarum: praesertim quum tu omnibus vel ornamentis vel praesidiis redundares, illi (ut lenissime dicam) multa deessent; cuius sermo stultus et puerilis erat iam antea ad me a M. Caelio, familiari nostro, perscriptus: de quo item sermone multa scripta sunt abs te. Ego autem citius cum eo, qui tuas inimicitias suscepisset, veterem coniunctionem diremissem, quam novam conciliassem: neque enim de meo erga te studio dubitare debes, neque id est obscurum cuiquam in provincia, nec Romae fuit. 6. Sed tamen significatur in tuis litteris suspicio quaedam et dubitatio tua: de qua alienum tempus est mihi tecum expostulandi, purgandi autem mei necessarium. Ubi enim ego cuiquam legationi fui impedimento, quo minus Romam ad laudem tuam mitteretur? aut in quo potui, si te palam odissem, minus, quod tibi obesset, facere? si clam, magis aperte inimicus esse? Quod si essem ea perfidia, qua sunt ii, qui in nos haec conferunt: tamen ea stultitia certe non fuissem, ut aut in obscuro odio apertas inimicitias, aut, in quo tibi nihil nocerem, summam ostenderem voluntatem nocendi. Ad me adire quosdam memini, nimirum ex Epicteto, qui dicerent, nimis magnos sumptus legatis decerni: quibus ego non tam imperavi, quam censui, sumptus legatis quam maxime ad legem Corneliam decernendos. Atque in eo ipso me non perseverasse, testes sunt rationes civitatum, in quibus,

quantum quaeque voluit, legatis tuis datum induxit. 7. Te autem quibus mendaciis homines levissimi onerarunt! non modo sublatos sumptus, sed etiam a procuratoribus eorum, qui iam profecti essent, repetitos et ablatos: eamque caussam multis omnino non eundi fuisse. Quererer tecum atque expostularem, ni, ut supra scripsi, purgare me tibi hoc tuo tempore, quam accusare te mallem, idque putarem esse rectius. Itaque nihil de te, quod credideris, de me, quamobrem non debueris credere, pauca dicam. Nam si me virum bonum, si dignum iis studiis eaque doctrina, cui me a pueritia dedi, si satis magni animi, non minimi consilii in maximis rebus perspectum habes; nihil in me, non modo perfidiosum et insidiosum et fallax in amicitia, sed ne humile quidem aut ieiunum debes agnoscere. 8. Sin autem me astutum et occultum iuvat fingere: quid est, quod minus cadere in eiusmodi naturam possit, quam aut florentissimi hominis aspernari benevolentiam, aut eius existimationem oppugnare in provincia, cuius laudem domi defenderis? aut in ea re animum ostendere inimicum, in qua nihil obsis? aut id eligere ad perfidiam, quod ad indicandum odium apertissimum sit, ad nocendum levissimum? Quid erat autem, cur ego in te tam implacabilis essem, quum te ex fratre meo ne tunc quidem, quum tibi prope necesse esset eas agere partes, inimicum mihi fuisse cognossem? Quum vero reditum nostrum in gratiam uterque expetisset: quid in consulatu tuo frustra mecum egisti, quod me aut facere aut sentire voluisses? Quid mihi mandasti, quum te Puteolis prosequerer, in quo non exspectationem tuam diligentia mea vicerim? 9. Quod si id est maxime astuti, omnia ad suam utilitatem referre: quid mihi tandem erat utilius, quid commodis meis aptius, quam hominis nobilissimi atque honoratissimi coniunctio: cuius opes, ingenium, liberi, affines, propinqui mihi magno vel ornamento vel praesidio esse possent? Quae tamen ego omnia in expetenda amicitia tua, non astutia quadam, sed aliqua potius sapientia, secutus sum. Quid? illa vincula, quibus quidem libentissime astringor, quanta sunt! studiorum similitudo, suavitas consuetudinis, delectatio vitae atque victus, sermonis societas, litterae interiores. Atque haec domestica. Quid? illa quanta popularia? Reditus illustris in gratiam? in quo ne per imprudentiam quidem errari potest sine suspicione perfidiae. Amplissimi sacerdotii colle-

gium? in quo non modo amicitiam violari apud maiores nostros fas non erat, sed ne cooptari quidem sacerdotem licebat, qui cuiquam ex collegio esset inimicus. 10. Quae ut omittam tam multa atque tanta: quis umquam tanti quemquam fecit aut facere potuit aut debuit, quanti ego Cn. Pompeium, socerum tuae filiae? Etenim si merita valent: patriam, liberos, salutem, dignitatem, memetipsum mihi per illum restitutum puto; si consuetudinis iucunditas: quae fuit umquam amicitia consularium in nostra civitate coniunctior? si illa amoris atque officii signa: quid mihi ille non commisit? quid non mecum communicavit? quid de se in senatu, quum ipse abesset, per quemquam agi maluit? quibus ille me rebus non ornatissimum esse voluit amplissime? qua denique ille facilitate, qua humanitate tulit contentionem meam pro Milone, adversante interdum actionibus suis! quo studio providit, ne quae me illius temporis invidia attingeret, quum me consilio, quum auctoritate, quum armis denique texit suis! Quibus quidem temporibus haec in eo gravitas, haec animi altitudo fuit, non modo ut Phrygi alicui aut Lycaoni, quod tu in legatis fecisti, sed ne summorum quidem hominum malevolis de me sermonibus crederet. Huius igitur filius quum sit gener tuus, quumque, praeter hanc coniunctionem affinitatis, quam sis Cn. Pompeio carus quamque iucundus, intelligam: quo tandem animo in te esse debeo? quum praesertim eas ad me is litteras miserit, quibus, etiamsi tibi, cui sum amicissimus, hostis essem, placarer tamen totumque me ad eius viri ita de me meriti voluntatem nutumque converterem. 11. Sed haec hactenus. Pluribus enim etiam fortasse verbis, quam necesse fuit, scripta sunt. Nunc ea, quae a me perfecta quaeque instituta sunt, cognosce: * * * Atque haec agimus et agemus magis pro dignitate, quam pro periculo tuo. Te enim (ut spero) propediem censorem audiemus: cuius magistratus officia, quae sunt maximi animi summique consilii, tibi diligentius et accuratius, quam haec, quae nos de te agimus, cogitanda esse censeo. [Vale.] (*Ad Div.* III. x.)

## EPISTOLA XLII.

(In Asia, A.U.C. 704.)

## M. T. CICERO S. P. D. M. CATONI.

1. *Laétus sum laudári me,*

inquit Hector, opinor, apud Naevium,

*abs te, páter, a laudató viro.*

Ea est enim profecto iucunda laus, quae ab iis proficiscitur, qui ipsi in laude vixerunt. Ego vero vel gratulatione litterarum tuarum, vel testimoniis sententiae dictae, nihil est, quod me non assecutum putem. Idque mihi quum amplissimum, tum gratissimum est, te libenter amicitiae dedisse, quod liquido veritati dares. Et, si non modo omnes, verum etiam multi Catones essent in civitate nostra, in qua unum exstitisse mirabile est: quem ego currum, aut quam lauream cum tua laudatione conferrem? Nam ad meum sensum et ad illud sincerum ac subtile iudicium nihil potest esse laudabilius, quam ea tua oratio, quae est ad me perscripta a meis necessariis. 2. Sed caussam meae voluntatis, non enim dicam cupiditatis, exposui tibi superioribus litteris: quae etiamsi parum iusta tibi visa est, hanc tamen habet rationem, non ut nimis concupiscendus honos, sed tamen, si deferatur a senatu, minime aspernandus esse videatur. Spero autem, illum ordinem, pro meis ob rempublicam susceptis laboribus, me non indignum honore, usitato praesertim, existimaturum. Quod si ita erit, tantum ex te peto, quod amicissime scribis, ut, quum tuo iudicio, quod amplissimum esse arbitraris, mihi tribueris, si id, quod maluero, acciderit, gaudeas. Sic enim fecisse te, et sensisse, et [verius] scripsisse video: resque ipsa declarat, tibi illum honorem nostrum supplicationis iucundum fuisse, quod scribendo adfuisti. Haec enim senatus consulta non ignoro ab amicissimis eius, cuius de honore agitur, scribi solere. Ego, ut spero, te propediem videbo; atque utinam republica meliore, quam timeo! (*Ad Div.* XV. vi.)

## EPISTOLA XLIII.

(Romae, A.U.C. 704.)

### CAELIUS CICERONI S.

1. Tanti non fuit Arsacen capere, Seluciam expugnare, ut earum rerum, quae hic gestae sunt, spectaculo careres. Numquam tibi oculi doluissent, si in repulsa Domitii vultum vidisses. Magna illa comitia fuerunt, et plane studia ex partium sensu apparuerunt: perpauci necessitudinem secuti officium praestiterunt. Itaque mihi est Domitius inimicissimus, ut ne familiarem quidem suum quemquam tam oderit, quam me: atque eo magis, quod per iniuriam sibi putat ereptum, cuius ego auctor fuerim. Nunc furit, tam gavisos homines suum dolorem, unumque me studiosiorem Antonii. Nam Cn. Saturninum adolescentem ipse Cn. Domitius reum fecit, sane quam superiore a vita invidiosum. Quod iudicium nunc in exspectatione est, etiam in bona spe, post Sex. Peducaei absolutionem. 2. De summa republica saepe tibi scripsi, me pacem annum ultra non videre; et quo propius ea contentio, quam fieri necesse est, accedit, eo clarius id periculum apparet. Propositum hoc est, de quo, qui rerum potiuntur, sunt dimicaturi: quod Cn. Pompeius constituit non pati C. Caesarem consulem aliter fieri, nisi exercitum et provincias tradiderit: Caesari autem persuasum est, se salvum esse non posse, si ab exercitu recesserit. Fert illam tamen conditionem, ut ambo exercitus tradant. Sic illi amores et invidiosa coniunctio non ad occultam recidit obtrectationem, sed ad bellum se erumpit; neque, mearum rerum quod consilium capiam, reperio. Quod non dubito, quin te quoque haec deliberatio sit perturbatura. Nam mihi cum hominibus his et gratia et necessitudo est; tum caussam illam, non homines odi. 3. Illud te non arbitror fugere, quin homines in dissensione domestica debeant, quamdiu civiliter sine armis certetur, honestiorem sequi partem: ubi ad bellum et castra ventum sit, firmiorem; et id melius statuere, quo tutius sit. In hac discordia video, Cn. Pompeium senatum, quique res iudicant, secum habiturum: ad Caesarem omnes, qui cum timore aut mala spe vivant, accessuros; exercitum conferendum non esse omnino. Modo satis spatii sit ad considerandas utriusque copias et ad eligendam partem. 4.

Prope oblitus sum, quod maxime fuit scribendum. Scis Appium censorem hic ostenta facere? de signis et tabulis, de agri modo, de aere alieno acerrime agere? Persuasum est ei, censuram lomentum aut nitrum esse. Errare mihi videtur. Nam sordes eluere vult; venas sibi omnes et viscera aperit. Curre, per deos atque homines, et quam primum haec risum veni, legis Scantiniae iudicium apud Drusum fieri, Appium de tabulis et signis agere. Crede mihi, est properandum. Curio noster sapienter id, quod remisit de stipendio Pompeii, fecisse existimatur. Ad summam, quaeris, quid putem futurum. Si alter uter eorum ad Parthicum bellum non eat, video magnas impendere discordias, quas ferrum et vis iudicabit. Uterque animo et copiis est paratus. Si sine tuo periculo fieri posset, magnum et iucundum tibi fortuna spectaculum parabat.—(*Ad Div.* VIII. xiv.)

## EPISTOLA XLIV.

(Athenis, A.U.C. 704.)

## CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Dederam equidem L. Saufeio litteras, et dederam ad te unum, quod, quum non esset temporis mihi ad scribendum satis, tamen hominem tibi tam familiarem sine meis litteris ad te venire nolebam. Sed, ut philosophi ambulant, has tibi redditum iri putabam prius. Sin iam illas accepisti, scis, me Athenas venisse prid. Idus Octobres; e navi egressum in Piraeeum. tuas ab Acasto nostro litteras accepisse; conturbatum, quod cum febre Romam venisses; bono tamen animo esse coepisse, quod Acastus ea, quae vellem, de allevato corpore tuo nuntiaret; cohorruisse autem me, quod tuae litterae de legionibus Caesaris afferrent; et egisse tecum, ut videres, ne quid φιλοτιμία eius, quem nosti, nobis noceret. De quo iam pridem ad te scripseram, Turannius autem secus tibi Brundisii dixerat; (quod ex iis litteris cognovi, quas a Xenone, optimo viro, accepi.) cur fratrem provinciae non praefecissem, exposui breviter. Haec fere sunt in illa epistola. 2. Nunc audi reliqua. Per fortunas! omnem tuum amorem, quo me es amplexus! omnemque tuam prudentiam, quam mehercule in omni genere iudico singularem! confer te iam ad eam curam, ut de omni statu meo cogites. Videre enim mihi videor tantam dimicationem; (nisi idem deus, qui

nos melius, quam optare auderemus, Parthico bello liberavit, respexerit rempublicam;) sed tantam, quanta numquam fuit. Age, hoc malum mihi commune est cum omnibus. Nihil tibi mando, ut de eo cogites. Illud meum proprium πρόβλημα, quaeso, suscipe. Videsne, ut te auctore sim utrumque complexus? Ac vellem a principio te audisse amicissime monentem.

Ἀλλ' ἐμὸν οὔποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθες
. . . πατρίδος —

Sed aliquando tamen persuasisti, ut alterum complecterer, quia de me erat optime meritus, alterum, quia tantum valebat. Feci igitur. Itaque effeci omni obsequio, ut neutri illorum quisquam esset me carior. 3. Haec enim cogitabamus: nec mihi, coniuncto cum Pompeio, fore necesse peccare in republica aliquando, nec, cum Caesare sentienti, pugnandum esse cum Pompeio; tanta erat illorum coniunctio. Nunc impendet, ut et tu ostendis et ego video, summa inter eos contentio. Me autem uterque numerat suum, nisi forte simulat alter. Nam Pompeius non dubitat; vere enim iudicat, ea, quae de republica nunc sentiat, mihi valde probari. Utriusque autem accepi eiusmodi litteras, eodem tempore, quo tuas, ut neuter quemquam omnium pluris facere, quam me, videretur. 4. Verum quid agam? Non quaero illa ultima, (si enim castris res geretur, video cum altero vinci satius esse, quam cum altero vincere,) sed illa, quae tum agentur, quum venero: ne ratio absentis habeatur, ut exercitum dimittat: DIC, M. TULLI. Quid dicam? Exspecta, amabo te, dum Atticum conveniam? Non est locus ad tergiversandum. Contra Caesarem? Ubi illae sunt densae dexterae? Nam ut illi hoc liceret, adiuvi, rogatus ab ipso Ravennae de Caelio tribuno plebis. Ab ipso autem? Etiam a Cnaeo nostro, in illo divino tertio consulatu. Aliter sensero? Αἰδέομαι (non Pompeium modo, sed) Τρῶας καὶ Τρῳάδας—.

Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει.

Quis? Tu ipse scilicet, laudator et factorum et scriptorum meorum. 5. Hanc ergo plagam effugi per duos superiores Marcellorum consulatus, quum est actum de provincia Caesaris. Nunc incido in discrimen ipsum. Itaque, ut stultus primus suam sententiam dicat, mihi valde placet, de

triumpho nos moliri aliquid: extra Urbem esse cum iustissima caussa. Tamen dabunt operam, ut eliciant sententiam meam. Ridebis hoc loco fortasse: quam vellem etiam nunc in provincia morari! Plane opus fuit, si hoc impendebat. Etsi nil miserius. Nam *ὁδοῦ πάρεργον*, volo te hoc scire: omnia illa prima, quae etiam tuis litteris in caelum ferebas, *ἐπίτηκτα* fuerunt. 6. Quam non est facilis virtus! quam vero difficilis eius diuturna simulatio! Quum enim hoc rectum et gloriosum putarem, ex annuo sumptu, qui mihi decretus esset, me C. Caelio quaestori relinquere annuum, referre in aerarium ad H-S x; ingemuit nostra cohors, omne illud putans distribui sibi oportere; ut ego amicior invenirer Phrygum et Cilicum aerariis, quam nostro. Sed me non moverunt. Nam et mea laus apud me plurimum valuit: nec tamen quidquam honorifice in quemquam fieri potuit, quod praetermiserim. Sed haec fuerit, ut ait Thucydides, *ἐκβολὴ λόγου* non inutilis. 7. Tu autem de nostro statu cogitabis: primum, quo artificio tueamur benevolentiam Caesaris; deinde de ipso triumpho, quem video, nisi reipublicae tempora impedient, *εὐπόριστον*. Iudico autem quum ex litteris amicorum, tum ex supplicatione; quam qui non decrevit, plus decrevit, quam si omnes decresset triumphos. Ei porro assensus est unus familiaris meus, Favonius, alter iratus, Hirrus. Cato autem et scribendo adfuit et ad me de sententia sua iucundissimas litteras misit. Sed tamen gratulans mihi Caesar de supplicatione, triumphat de sententia Catonis; nec scribit, quid ille sententiae dixerit, sed tantum, supplicationem eum mihi non decrevisse. 8. Redeo ad Hirrum. Coeperas eum mihi placare: perfice; habes Scrofam, habes Silium. Ad eos ego etiam antea scripsi, et ad ipsum Hirrum. Locutus enim erat cum iis commode, se potuisse impedire, sed noluisse; assensum tamen esse Catoni, amicissimo meo; quum is honorificentissimam in me sententiam dixisset; nec me ad se ullas litteras misisse, quum ad omnes mitterem. Verum dicebat; ad eum enim solum et ad Crassipedem non scripseram. 9. Atque haec de rebus forensibus. Redeamus domum. Diiungere me ab illo volo. Mirus est *φυράτης*, germanus Lartidius.

*Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν προτετύχθαι ἐάσομεν, ἀχνύμενοί περ.*

Reliqua expediamus. Hoc primum, quo accessit cura dolori meo: sed hoc tamen, quidquid est, Precianum, cum iis

rationibus, quas ille meas tractat, admisceri nolo. Scripsi ad Terentiam, scripsi etiam ad ipsum, me, quidquid possem nummorum ad apparatum sperati triumphi, ad te redacturum. Ista puto ἄμεμπτα fore: verum ut lubebit. Hanc quoque suscipe curam, quemadmodum experiamur. Id et ostendisti quibusdam litteris, ex Epiro an Athenis datis, et in eo ego te adiuvabo. (*Ad Att.* VII. i.)

## EPISTOLA XLV.

(A.U.C. 704.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Dionysium, flagrantem desiderio tui, misi ad te, nec mehercule aequo animo; sed fuit concedendum: quem quidem cognovi quum doctum, quod mihi iam ante erat notum, tum sane plenum officii, studiosum etiam meae laudis, frugi hominem, ac, ne libertinum laudare videar, plane virum bonum. 2. Pompeium vidi IV. Id. Decembres: fuimus una horas duas fortasse. Magna laetitia mihi visus est affici meo adventu: de triumpho hortari, suscipere partes suas; monere, ne ante in senatum accederem, quam rem confecissem; ne dicendis sententiis aliquem tribunum alienarem. Quid quaeris? in hoc officio sermonis nihil potuit esse prolixius. De republica autem ita mecum locutus est, quasi non dubium bellum haberemus. Nihil ad spem concordiae; plane illum ab se alienatum, quum ante intelligeret, tum vero proxime iudicasse: venisse Hirtium a Caesare, qui esset illi familiarissimus, ad se non accessisse; et, quum ille a. d. VIII. Idus Decemb. vesperi venisset, Balbus de tota re constituisset a. d. VII. ad Scipionem ante lucem venire, multa de nocte eum profectum esse ad Caesarem. Hoc illi τεκμηριῶδες videbatur esse alienationis. 3. Quid multa? Nihil me aliud consolatur, nisi quod illum, cui etiam inimici alterum consulatum, fortuna summam potentiam dederat, non arbitror fore tam amentem, ut haec in discrimen adducat. Quod si ruere coeperit; nae ego multa timeo, quae non audeo scribere. Sed, ut nunc est, a. d. III. Nonas Ian. ad Urbem cogito. (*Ad Att.* VII. iv.)

## EPISTOLA XLVI.

(A.U.C. 704.)

## CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Quotidiene, inquis, a te accipiendae litterae sunt? Si habebo, cui dem, quotidie. At iam ipse ades. Tum igitur, quum venero, desinam. Unas video mihi a te non esse redditas; quas L. Quintius, familiaris meus, quum ferret, ad bustum Basili vulneratus et despoliatus est. 2. Videbis igitur, numquid fuerit in iis, quod me scire opus sit: et simul tu hoc διευκρινήσεις πρόβλημα sane πολιτικόν; quum sit necesse aut haberi Caesaris rationem, illo exercitum vel per senatum vel per tribunos plebis obtinente, aut persuaderi Caesari, ut tradat provinciam atque exercitum, et ita consul fiat; aut, si id non persuadeatur, haberi comitia sine illius ratione, illo patiente atque obtinente provinciam; ut, si per tribunos plebis non patiatur, tamen quiescat, rem adduci ad interregnum; aut, si ob eam caussam, quod ratio eius non habeatur, exercitum adducat, armis cum eo contendere; illum autem initium facere armorum, aut, statim nobis minus paratis, aut tum, quum comitiis, amicis eius postulantibus, ut e lege ratio habeatur, impetratum non sit; ire autem ad arma, aut hanc unam ob caussam, quod ratio non habeatur, aut addita caussa, si forte tribunus plebis, senatum impediens aut populum incitans, notatus aut senatus consulto circumscriptus aut sublatus aut expulsus sit, dicensve se expulsum ad illum confugerit; suscepto autem bello, aut tenenda sit Urbs, aut, ea relicta, ille commeatu et reliquis copiis intercludendus: quod horum malorum, quorum aliquod certe subeundum est, minimum putes. 3. Dices profecto persuaderi illi, ut tradat exercitum et ita consul fiat. Est omnino id eiusmodi, ut, si ille eo descendat, contra dici nihil possit; idque eum, si non obtinet, ut ratio habeatur retinentis exercitum, non facere miror. Nobis autem, ut quidam putat, nihil est timendum magis, quam ille consul. At sic malo, inquies, quam cum exercitu. Certe. Sed istud ipsum sic magnum malum putat aliquis: neque ei remedium est ullum. Cedendum est, si id volet. Vide consulem illum iterum, quem vidisti consulatu priore. At tam imbecillus plus, inquis, valuit, quam tota respublica. Quid nunc putas? Et

eo consule, Pompeio certum est esse in Hispania. O rem miseram! si quidem id ipsum deterrimum est, quod recusari non potest; et quod ille si faciat, iamiam a bonis omnibus summam ineat gratiam. 4. Tollamus igitur hoc, quo illum posse adduci negant: de reliquis quid est deterrimum? concedere illi, quod, ut idem dicit, impudentissime postulat. Nam quid impudentius? Tenuisti provinciam per decem annos, non tibi a senatu, sed a te ipso per vim et per factionem datos. Praeteriit tempus, non legis, sed libidinis tuae: fac tamen, legis. Ut succedatur, decernitur: impedis et ais, habe mei rationem. Habe tu nostrum. Exercitum tu habeas diutius, quam populus iussit, invito senatu? Depugnes oportet, nisi concedis. Cum bona quidem spe, ut ait idem, vel vincendi vel in libertate moriendi. Iam si pugnandum est; quo tempore, in casu, quo consilio, in temporibus situm est. Itaque te in ea quaestione non exerceo. Ad ea, quae dixi, affer, si quid habes; equidem dies noctesque torqueor. (*Ad Att.* VII. ix.)

## EPISTOLA XLVII.

(A.U.C. 705.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Quaeso, quid hoc est? aut quid agitur? Mihi enim tenebrae sunt. Cingulum, inquis, nos tenemus: Anconem amisimus. Labienus discessit ab Caesare. Utrum de imperatore populi Romani, an de Hannibale loquimur? O hominem amentem et miserum, qui ne umbram quidem umquam *τοῦ καλοῦ* viderit! Atque haec ait omnia facere se dignitatis caussa. Ubi est autem dignitas, nisi ubi honestas? Num honestum igitur, habere exercitum nullo publico consilio? occupare urbes civium, quo facilior sit aditus ad patriam? *χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς, φυγάδων καθόδους*, sexcenta alia scelera moliri?

*τὴν θεῶν μεγίστην ὥστ' ἔχειν τυραννίδα.*

Sibi habeat suam fortunam. Unam mehercule tecum apricationem in illo Lucretino tuo sole malim, quam omnia istiusmodi regna; vel potius mori millies, quam semel istiusmodi quidquam cogitare. 2. Quid si tu velis? inquis.

Age quis est, cui velle non liceat? Sed ego hoc ipsum velle miserius esse duco, quam in crucem tolli. Una res est ea miserior, adipisci, quod ita volueris. Sed haec hactenus. Libenter enim in his molestiis ἐνσχολάζω σοι. 3. Redeamus ad nostrum. Per fortunas! quale tibi consilium Pompeii videtur? Hoc quaero, quod Urbem reliquerit. Ego enim ἀπορῶ. Tum nihil absurdius. Urbem tu relinquas? Ergo idem, si Galli venirent. 'Non est, inquit, in parietibus respublica.' 'At in aris et focis.' 'Fecit idem Themistocles.' Fluctum enim totius barbariae ferre urbs una non poterat. At idem Pericles non fecit, annum fere post quinquagesimum, quum praeter moenia nihil teneret. Nostri olim, Urbe reliqua capta arcem tamen retinuerunt.

*Οὕτω που τῶν πρόσθεν ἐπευθόμεθα κλέα ἀνδρῶν.*

4. Rursus autem ex dolore municipali sermonibusque eorum, quos convenio, videtur hoc consilium exitum habiturum. Mira hominum querela est, (nescio an istic: sed facies, ut sciam:) sine magistratibus Urbem esse, sine senatu. Fugiens denique Pompeius mirabiliter homines movet. Quid quaeris? Alia caussa facta est: nihil iam concedendum putant Caesari. Haec, tu mihi explica, qualia sint. 5. Ego negotio praesum non turbulento. Vult enim me Pompeius esse, quem tota haec Campana et maritima ora habeat ἐπίσκοπον, ad quem delectus et summa negotii referatur. Itaque vagus esse cogitabam. Te puto iam videre, quae sit ὁρμή Caesaris, qui populus, qui totius negotii status: ea velim scribas ad me, et quidem, quoniam mutabilia sunt, quam saepissime. Acquiesco enim et scribens ad te et legens tua. (*Ad Att.* VII. xi.)

## EPISTOLA XLVIII.

(In Formiano, A.U.C. 705.)

## CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Tuae litterae mihi gratae iucundaeque sunt. De pueris in Graeciam transportandis tum cogitabam, quum fuga ex Italia quaeri videbatur. Nos enim Hispaniam peteremus; illis hoc aeque commodum non erat. Tu ipse cum Sexto etiam nunc mihi videris Romae recte esse posse. Etenim minime amici Pompeio nostro esse debetis. Nemo

enim umquam tantum de urbanis praesidiis detraxit. 2. Videsne me etiam iocari? Scire iam te oportet, L. Caesar quae responsa referat a Pompeio, quas ab eodem ad Caesarem ferat litteras. Scriptae enim et datae ita sunt, ut proponerentur in publico: in quo accusavi mecum ipse Pompeium, qui, quum scriptor luculentus esset, tantas res, atque eas, quae in omnium manus venturae essent, Sestio nostro scribendas dederit. Itaque nihil umquam legi scriptum *σηστιωδέστερον*. Perspici tamen ex litteris Pompeii potest, nihil Caesari negari, omniaque et cumulate, quae postulet, dari, quae ille, amentissimus fuerit, nisi acceperit, praesertim quum impudentissime postulaverit. Quis enim tu es, qui dicas, si in Hispaniam profectus erit, si praesidia dimiserit? Tamen conceditur; minus honeste nunc quidem, violata iam ab illo republica illatoque bello, quam si olim de ratione habenda impetrasset: et tamen vereor, ut his ipsis contentus sit. Nam quum ista mandata dedisset L. Caesari, debuit esse paullo quietior, dum responsa referrentur; dicitur autem nunc esse acerrimus. 3. Trebatius quidem scribit se ab illo IX. Kal. Febr. rogatum esse, ut scriberet ad me, ut essem ad Urbem; nihil ei me gratius facere posse. Haec verbis plurimis. Intellexi ex dierum ratione, ut primum de discessu nostro Caesar audisset, laborare eum coepisse, ne omnes abessemus. Itaque non dubito, quin ad Pisonem, quin ad Servium scripserit. Illud admiror non ipsum ad me scripsisse, non per Dolabellam, non per Caelium egisse: quamquam non aspernor Trebatii litteras, a quo me unice diligi scio. 4. Rescripsi ad Trebatium, (nam ad ipsum Caesarem, qui mihi nihil scripsisset, nolui,) quam illud hoc tempore esset difficile; me tamen in praediis meis esse, neque delectum ullum, neque negotium suscepisse. In quo quidem manebo, dum spes pacis erit: sin bellum geretur; non deero officio, nec dignitati meae, pueros *ὑπεκθέμενος* in Graeciam. Totam enim Italiam flagraturam bello intelligo: tantum mali excitatum partim ex improbis, partim ex invidis civibus. Sed haec paucis diebus ex illius ad nostra responsis intelligentur, quorsum evasura sint. Tum ad te scribam plura, si erit bellum: sin autem etiam induciae, te ipsum, ut spero, videbo. 5. Ego IV. Non. Febr. quo die has litteras dedi, in Formiano, quo Capua redieram, mulieres exspectabam; quibus quidem scripseram, tuis litteris admonitus, ut Romae

manerent. Sed audio maiorem quemdam in Urbe timorem esse. Capuae Non. Febr. esse volebam, quia consules iusserant. Quidquid huc erit a Pompeio allatum, statim ad te scribam: tuasque de istis rebus litteras exspectabo. (*Ad Att.* VII. xvii.)

## EPISTOLA XLIX.

(In Formiano, A.U.C. 705.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Pedem in Italia video nullum esse, qui non in istius potestate sit. De Pompeio scio nihil; eumque, nisi in navim se contulerit, exceptum iri puto. O celeritatem incredibilem! huius autem nostri?—sed non possum sine dolore accusare eum, de quo angor et crucior. Tu caedem non sine caussa times; non quo minus quidquam Caesari expediat ad diuturnitatem victoriae et dominationis: sed video, quorum arbitrio sit acturus. 2. Recte sit. Censeo cedendum de oppidis his. Egeo consilii. Quod optimum factu videbitur, facies. Cum Philotimo loquere; atque adeo Terentiam habebis Idibus. Ego quid agam? qua aut terra aut mari persequar eum, qui ubi sit, nescio? Etsi terra quidem, qui possum? mari, quo? Tradam igitur isti me? Fac posse tuto; (multi enim hortantur:) num etiam honeste? Nullo modo. Quid? a te petam consilium, ut soleo? Explicari rès non potest. Sed tamen, si quid in mentem venit, velim scribas, et ipse quid sis acturus. (*Ad Att.* VII. xxii.)

## EPISTOLA L.

(In agro Caleno, A.U.C. 705.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Maximis et miserrimis rebus perturbatus, quum coram tecum mihi potestas deliberandi non esset, uti tamen tuo consilio volui. Deliberatio autem omnis haec est: si Pompeius Italia cedat, quod eum facturum esse suspicor, quid mihi agendum putes; et quo facilius consilium dare possis: quid in utramque partem mihi in mentem veniat, explicabo brevi. Quum merita Pompeii summa erga salutem meam,

familiaritasque, quae mihi cum eo est, tum ipsa reipublicae caussa me adducit, ut mihi vel consilium meum cum illius consilio, vel fortuna cum fortuna coniungenda esse videatur. 2. Accedit illud: si maneo et illum comitatum optimorum et clarissimorum civium desero, cadendum est in unius potestatem; qui, etsi multis rebus significat se nobis esse amicum,—et, ut esset, a me est (tute scis) propter suspicionem huius impendentis tempestatis multo ante provisum;—tamen utrumque considerandum est, et quanta fides ei sit habenda; et, si maxime exploratum, eum nobis amicum fore, sitne viri fortis et boni civis, esse in ea urbe, in qua quum summis honoribus imperiisque usus sit, res maximas gesserit, sacerdotio sit amplissimo praeditus, non futurus sit sui iuris, subeundumque periculum sit, cum aliquo forte dedecore, quando Pompeius rempublicam recuperarit. 3. In hac parte haec sunt. Vide nunc, quae sint in altera. Nihil actum est a Pompeio nostro sapienter, nihil fortiter; addo etiam, nihil nisi contra consilium auctoritatemque meam. Omitto illa vetera, quod istum in rempublicam ille aluit, auxit, armavit: ille legibus per vim et contra auspicia ferendis auctor; ille Galliae ulterioris adiunctor; ille gener; ille in adoptando P. Clodio augur; ille restituendi mei, quam retinendi studiosior; ille provinciae propagator; ille absentis in omnibus adiutor; idem etiam tertio consulatu, postquam esse defensor reipublicae coepit, contendit, ut decem tribuni plebis ferrent, ut absentis ratio haberetur; quod idem ipse sanxit lege quadam sua, Marcoque Marcello consuli, finienti provinciis Galliis Kalendarum Martiarum diem, restitit. Sed, ut haec omittam, quid foedius, quid perturbatius hoc ab Urbe discessu, sive potius turpissima fuga? Quae conditio non accipienda fuit potius, quam relinquenda patria? Malae conditiones erant. Fateor: sed num quid hoc peius? 4. At recuperabit rempublicam. Quando? aut quid ad eam spem est parati? Non ager Picenus amissus? non patefactum iter ad Urbem? non pecunia omnis et publica et privata adversario tradita? Denique nulla caussa, nullae vires, nulla sedes, quo concurrant, qui rempublicam defensam velint. Apulia delecta est, inanissima pars Italiae et ab impetu huius belli remotissima: fuga et maritima opportunitas visa quaeri desperatione. Invite cepi Capuam, non quo munus illud defugerem, sed sic, ne caussam, in qua nullus esset ordinum, nullus apertus pri-

vatorum dolor: bonorum autem esset aliquis, sed hebes, ut solet, et ut ipse sensissem: multitudo et infimus quisque propensus in alteram partem, multi mutationis rerum cupidi. 5. Dixi ipsi, me nihil suscepturum sine praesidio et sine pecunia. Itaque habui nihil omnino negotii; quod ab initio vidi, nihil quaeri praeter fugam. Eam si nunc sequor, quonam? Cum illo non: ad quem quum essem profectus, cognovi in iis locis esse Caesarem, ut tuto Luceriam venire non possem. Infero mari nobis, incerto cursu, hieme maxima navigandum est. Age iam, cum fratre, an sine? cum filio, aut quomodo? In utraque enim re summa difficultas erit, summus animi dolor. Qui autem impetus illius erit in nos absentes fortunasque nostras? Acrior, quam in ceterorum; quod putabit fortasse, in nobis violandis aliquid se habere populare. Age iam, has compedes, fasces, inquam, hos laureatos efferre ex Italia, quam molestum est! Qui autem locus erit nobis tutus, (ut iam placatis utamur fluctibus,) antequam ad illum venerimus? Qua autem, aut quo, nihil scimus. 6. At si restitero, et fuerit nobis in hac parte locus, idem fecero, quod in Cinnae dominatione Philippus, quod L. Flaccus, quod Q. Mucius, quoquo modo ea res huic quidem cecidit; qui tamen ita dicere solebat, se, id fore, videre, quod factum est, sed malle, quam armatum ad patriae moenia accedere. Aliter Thrasybulus, et fortasse melius. Sed est certa quaedum illa Mucii ratio atque sententia: est illa etiam Thrasybuli; et quum sit necesse servire tempori et non amittere tempus, quum sit datum. Sed in hoc ipso habent tamen iidem fasces molestiam. Sit enim nobis amicus, quod incertum est: sed sit; deferet triumphum. Non acciperene periculosum sit, an accipere invidiosum ad bonos? O rem, inquis, difficilem et inexplicabilem! Atqui explicanda est. Qui enim fieri potest? Ac ne me existimaris ad manendum esse propensiorem, quod plura in eam partem verba fecerim: potest fieri, quod fit in multis questionibus, ut res verbosior haec fuerit, illa verior. Quamobrem, ut maxima de re, aequo animo deliberanti, ita mihi des consilium velim. Navis et in Caieta est parata nobis et Brundisii. 7. Sed ecce nuntii, scribente me haec ipsa noctu in Caleno, ecce litterae, Caesarem ad Corfinium, Domitium Corfinii cum firmo exercitu et pugnare cupiente. Non puto etiam hoc Cnaeum nostrum commissurum, ut Domitium relinquat: etsi Brundisium Scipio-

nem cum cohortibus duabus praemiserat, legionem Fausto conscriptam in Siciliam sibi placere a consule duci, scripserat ad consules. Sed turpe Domitium deserere erit, implorantem eius auxilium. Est quaedam spes, mihi quidem non magna, sed in his locis firma, Afranium in Pirenaeo cum Trebonio pugnasse, pulsum Trebonium, etiam Fabium tuum transisse cum cohortibus; summa autem, Afranium cum magnis copiis adventare. Id si est, in Italia fortasse manebitur. Ego autem, quum esset incertum iter Caesaris, quod vel ad Capuam, vel ad Luceriam iturus putabatur, Leptam ad Pompeium misi et litteras; ipse, ne quo inciderem, reverti Formias. Haec te scire volui, scripsique sedatiore animo, quam proxime scripseram, nullum meum iudicium interponens, sed exquirens tuum. (*Ad Att.* VIII. iii.)

## EPISTOLA LI.

(Formiis, A.U.C. 705.)

### M. CICERO IMP. S. D. CN. MAGNO PROCOS.

1. Quum ad te litteras misissem, quae tibi Canusii redditae sunt, suspicionem nullam habebam, te reipublicae caussa mare transiturum; eramque in spe magna, fore, ut in Italia possemus aut concordiam constituere, qua mihi nihil utilius videbatur, aut republicam summa cum dignitate defendere. Interim, nondum meis litteris ad te perlatis, ex his mandatis, quae D. Laelio ad consules dederas, certior tui consilii factus, non exspectavi, dum mihi a te litterae redderentur, confestimque cum Quinto fratre et cum liberis nostris iter ad te in Apuliam facere coepi. 2. Quum Teanum Sidicinum venissem, C. Messius, familiaris tuus, mihi dixit aliique complures, Caesarem iter habere Capuam, et eo ipso die mansurum esse Aeserniae. Sane sum commotus, quod, si ita esset, non modo iter meum interclusum, sed meipsum plane exceptum putabam. Itaque tum Cales processi, ut ibi potissimum consisterem, dum certum nobis ab Aesernia de eo, quod audieram, referretur. 3. At mihi, quum Calibus essem, affertur litterarum tuarum exemplum, quas tu ad Lentulum consulem misisses. Hae scriptae sic erant: Litteras tibi a L. Domitio a. d. XIII. Kalend. Mart. allatas esse, (earumque exemplum subscripseras;—) magnique interesse

reipublicae scripseras, omnes copias primo quoque tempore in unum locum convenire; et ut, praesidii quod satis esset, Capuae relinqueret. His ego litteris lectis, in eadem opinione fui, qua reliqui omnes, te cum omnibus copiis ad Corfinium esse venturum; quo mihi, quum Caesar ad oppidum castra haberet, tutum iter esse non arbitrabar. Quum res in summa expectatione esset, utrumque simul audimus, et quae Corfinii acta essent, et te iter Brundisium facere coepisse; quumque nec mihi nec fratri meo dubium esset, quin Brundisium contenderemus; a multis, qui e Samnio Apuliaque veniebant, admoniti sumus ut caveremus, ne exciperemur a Caesare; quod is in eadem loca, quae nos petebamus, profectus, celerius etiam, quam nos possemus, eo, quo intenderet, venturus esset. Quod quum ita esset; nec mihi, nec fratri meo, nec cuiquam amicorum placuit committere, ut temeritas nostra non solum nobis, sed etiam reipublicae noceret; quum praesertim non dubitaremus, quin, si etiam tutum nobis iter fuisset, te tamen iam consequi non possemus. 4. Interim accepimus tuas litteras, Canusio a. d. x. Kalend. Mart. datas, quibus nos hortaris, ut celerius Brundisium veniamus; quas quum accepissemus a. d. III. Kalend. Mart., non dubitabamus, quin tu iam Brundisium pervenisses: nobisque iter illud omnino interclusum videbamus, neque minus nos esse captos, quam qui Corfinii. Neque enim eos solos arbitrabamur capi, qui in armatorum manus incidissent, sed eos nihilo-minus, qui regionibus exclusi intra praesidia atque intra arma aliena venissent. 5. Quod quum ita sit, maxime vellem primum semper tecum fuisse; quod quidem tibi ostenderam, quum a me Capuam reiiciebam: quod feci non vitandi oneris caussa, sed quod videbam, teneri illam urbem sine exercitu non posse; accidere autem mihi nolebam, quod doleo viris fortissimis accidisse. Quoniam autem, tecum ut essem, non contigit; utinam tui consilii certior factus essem! Nam suspicione assequi non potui; quod omnia prius arbitratus sum fore, quam ut haec reipublicae caussa in Italia non posset duce te consistere. Neque vero nunc consilium tuum reprehendo, sed fortunam reipublicae lugeo: nec, si ego, quid tu sis secutus, non perspicio, idcirco minus existimo, te nihil nisi summa ratione fecisse. 6. Mea quae semper fuerit sententia, primum de pace vel iniqua conditione retinenda, deinde de Urbe, (nam de Italia quidem nihil mihi

umquam ostenderas,) meminisse te arbitror. Sed mihi non sumo, ut meum consilium valere debuerit: secutus sum tuum; neque id reipublicae caussa, de qua desperavi, quae et nunc afflicta est, nec excitari sine civili perniciosissimo bello potest: sed te quaerebam: tecum esse cupiebam; neque eius rei facultatem, si qua erit, praetermittam. 7. Ego me in hac omni caussa facile intelligebam pugnandi cupidis hominibus non satisfacere. Primum enim prae me tuli, me nihil malle, quam pacem; non quin eadem timerem, quae illi: sed ea bello civili leviora ducebam. Inde, suscepto bello, quum pacis conditiones ad te afferri, a teque ad ea honorifice et large responderi viderem; duxi meam rationem; quam tibi facile me probaturum, pro tuo in me beneficio, arbitrabar. Memineram me esse unum, qui pro meis maximis in rempublicam meritis supplicia miserrima et crudelissima pertulissem; me esse unum, qui, si offendissem eius animum, cui tum, quum iam in armis essemus, consulatus tamen alter et triumphus amplissimus deferebatur, obiicerer eisdem praeliis; ut mea persona semper ad improborum civium impetus aliquid videretur habere populare. Atque haec non ego prius sum suspicatus, quam mihi palam denuntiata sunt; neque ea tam pertimui, si subeunda essent, quam declinanda putavi, si honeste vitare possem. 8. Quam brevem illius temporis, dum in spe pax fuit, rationem nostram vides; reliqui facultatem res ademit. Iis autem, quibus non satisfacio, facile respondeo: neque enim ego amicior C. Caesari umquam fui, quam illi; neque illi amiciores reipublicae, quam ego. Hoc inter me et illos interest: quod, quum et illi cives optimi sint, et ego ab ista laude non absim, ego conditionibus, quod idem te intellexeram velle, illi armis disceptari maluerunt. Quae quoniam ratio vicit, perficiam profecto, ut neque respublica civis a me animum, neque tu amici desideres. (*Ad Att.* VIII. xi. D.)

## EPISTOLA LII.

(Formiis, A.U.C. 705.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Omnia mihi provisa sunt praeter occultum et tutum iter ad mare superum. Hoc enim mari uti non possumus

hoc tempore anni. Illuc autem, quo spectat animus, et quo res vocat, qua veniam? Cedendum enim est celeriter, ne forte qua re impediar atque alliger. Nec vero ille me ducit, qui videtur; quem ego hominem *ἀπολιτικώτατον* omnium iam ante cognoram, nunc vero etiam *ἀστρατηγικώτατον*. Non me igitur is ducit, sed sermo hominum, qui ad me a Philotimo scribitur. Is enim me ab optimatibus ait conscindi. Quibus optimatibus, dii boni? qui nunc, quo modo occurrunt! quo modo autem se venditant Caesari! Municipia vero deum: nec simulant, ut quum de illo aegroto vota faciebant. Sed plane, quidquid mali hic Pisistratus non fecerit, tam gratum est, quam si alium facere prohibuerit. Hunc propitium sperant, illum iratum putant. Quas fieri censes *ἀπαντήσεις* ex oppidis! quos honores! Metuunt, inquies. Credo. Sed mehercule illum magis. Huius insidiosa clementia delectantur, illius iracundiam formidant. Iudices DCCCL, qui praecipue Cnaeo nostro delectabantur, ex quibus quotidie aliquem video, nescio quas eius Lucerias horrent. Itaque quaero, qui sint isti optimates, qui me exturbent, quum ipsi domi maneant. Sed tamen, quicumque sunt *αἰδέομαι Τρῶας*. Etsi, qua spe proficiscar, video; coniungoque me cum homine, magis ad vastandum Italiam, quam ad vincendum parato; demum, quem exspecto. Et quidem, quum haec scribebam, IV. Nonas, iam exspectabam aliquid a Brundisio. Quid autem aliquid —: quam inde turpiter fugisset, et victor hinc qua se referret, et quo. Quod ubi audissem, si ille Appia veniret, ego Arpinum cogitabam. (*Ad Att.* VIII. xvi.)

## EPISTOLA LIII.

(Formiis, A.U.C. 705.)

## CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Scripseram ad te epistolam, quam darem IV. Id.; sed eo die is, cui dare volueram, non est profectus. Venit autem eo ipso die ille celeripes, quem Salvius dixerat: attulit uberrimas tuas litteras, quae mihi quiddam quasi animulae restillarunt; recreatum enim me non queo dicere: sed plane *τὸ συνέχον* effecisti. Ego enim non iam id ago, mihi crede, ut prosperos exitus consequar. Sic enim video, nec duobus his vivis, nec hoc uno, nos umquam rempublicam habituros. Ita

neque de otio nostro spero iam, nec ullam acerbitatem recuso. Unum illud extimescebam, ne quid turpiter facerem, vel, dicam, iam effecissem. 2. Sic ergo habeto, salutares te mihi litteras misisse; neque solum has longiores, quibus nihil potest esse explicatius, nihil perfectius; sed etiam illas breviores, in quibus hoc mihi iucundissimum fuit, consilium factumque nostrum a Sexto probari; pergratumque mihi tu fecisti, a quo diligi me, et, quid rectum sit, intelligi scio. Longior vero tua epistola non me solum, sed meos omnes aegritudine levavit. Itaque utar tuo consilio, et ero in Formiano, ne aut ad Urbem *ἀπάντησις* mea animadvertatur, aut, si nec hic nec illic eum videro, devitatum se a me putet. 3. Quod autem suades, ut ab eo petam, ut mihi concedat, ut idem tribuam Pompeio, quod ipsi tribuerim: id me iam pridem agere intelliges ex litteris Balbi et Oppii, quarum exempla tibi misi. Misi etiam Caesaris ad eos, sana mente scriptas; quo modo in tanta insania. Sin mihi Caesar hoc non concedat, video tibi placere illud, me *πολίτευμα* de pace suscipere: in quo non extimesco periculum. Quum enim tot impendeant, cur non honestissimo depacisci velim? Sed vereor, ne Pompeio quid oneris imponam;

*μή μοι Γοργείην κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου*

intorqueat. Mirandum enim in modum Cnaeus noster Sullani regni similitudinem concupivit. *Εἰδώς σοι λέγω.* Nihil ille umquam minus obscure tulit. 'Cum hocne igitur, inquies, esse vis?' Beneficium sequor, mihi crede, non caussam, ut in Milone, ut in—sed hæc hactenus. 4. 'Caussa igitur non bona est?' Immo optima: sed agetur, memento, foedissime. Primum, consilium est, suffocare Urbem et Italiam fame; deinde, agros vastare, urere, pecuniis locupletum non abstinere. Sed, quum eadem metuam ab hac parte, si illinc beneficium non sit, rectius putem quidvis domi perpeti. Sed ita meruisse illum de me puto, ut *ἀχαριστίας* crimen subire non audeam. Quamquam a te eius quoque rei iusta defensio est explicata. 5. De triumpho tibi assentior; quem quidem totum facile et libenter abiecero. Egregie probo fore, ut, dum vagamur, *ὁ πλοῦς ὡραῖος* obrepat: si modo, inquis, satis ille erit firmus. Est firmior etiam, quam putabamus. De isto licet bene speres. Promitto tibi, si valebit, tegulam illum in Italia nullam

relicturum. 'Tene igitur socio?' Contra mehercule meum iudicium, et contra omnium antiquorum auctoritatem: nec tam ut illa adiuvem, quam ut haec ne videam, cupio discedere. Noli enim putare tolerabiles horum insanias nec unius modi fore. Etsi quid te horum fugit? Legibus, iudicibus, iudiciis, senatu sublato, libidines, audacias, sumptus, egestates tot egentissimorum hominum, nec privatas posse res nec rempublicam sustinere. Abeamus igitur inde qualibet navigatione: etsi id quidem, ut tibi videbitur: sed certe abeamus. Sciemus enim, id quod exspectas, quid Brundisii actum sit. 6. Bonis viris quod ais probari, quae adhuc fecerimus, scirique, ab iis nos non profectos, valde gaudeo; si est nunc ullus gaudendi locus. De Lentulo investigabo diligentius: id mandavi Philotimo, homini forti ac nimium optimati. 7. Extremum est, ut tibi argumentum ad scribendum fortasse iam desit: (nec enim alia de re nunc ulla scribi potest; et de hac quid iam amplius inveniri potest?) sed quoniam et ingenium suppeditat (dico mehercule, ut sentio), et amor, quo et meum ingenium incitatur: perge, ut facis, et scribe, quantum potes. In Epirum quod me non invitas, comitem non molestum, subirascor: sed vale. Nam, ut tibi ambulandum, ungendum, sic mihi dormiendum. Etenim litterae tuae mihi somnum attulerunt. (*Ad Att.* IX. vii.)

## EPISTOLA LIV.

(A.U.C. 705.)

### CAESAR IMP. S. D. CICERONI IMP.

Quum Furnium nostrum tantum vidissem, neque loqui neque audire meo commodo potuissem, properarem, atque essem in itinere, praemissis iam legionibus; praeterire tamen non potui, quin et scriberem ad te, et illum mitterem gratiasque agerem: etsi hoc et feci saepe, et saepius mihi facturus videor; ita de me mereris. In primis a te peto, quoniam confido me celeriter ad Urbem venturum, ut te ibi videam, ut tuo consilio, gratia, dignitate, ope omnium rerum uti possim. Ad propositum revertar: festinationi meae brevitatique litterarum ignosces. Reliqua ex Furnio cognosces. (*Ad Att.* IX. vi.)

## EPISTOLA LV.

(In Formiano, A.U.C. 705.)

### CICERO IMP. S. D. CAESARI IMP.

1. Ut legi tuas litteras, quas a Furnio nostro acceperam, quibus mecum agebas, ut ad Urbem essem, te velle uti consilio et dignitate mea, minus sum admiratus: de gratia et de ope quid significares, mecum ipse quaerebam: spe tamen deducebar ad eam cogitationem, ut te pro tua admirabili ac singulari sapientia de otio, de pace, de concordia civium agi velle arbitrarer, et ad eam rationem existimabam satis aptam esse et naturam et personam meam. 2. Quod si ita est, et si qua de Pompeio nostro tuendo et tibi ac reipublicae reconciliando cura te attingit, magis idoneum, quam ego sum, ad eam caussam profecto reperies neminem: qui et illi semper et senatui, quum primum potui, pacis auctor fui; nec, sumptis armis, belli ullam attigi; iudicavique eo bello te violari, contra cuius honorem, populi Romani beneficio concessum, inimici atque invidi niterentur. Sed ut eo tempore non modo ipse fautor dignitatis tuae fui, verum etiam ceteris auctor ad te adiuvandum, sic me nunc Pompeii dignitas vehementer movet. Aliquot enim sunt anni, quum vos duo delegi, quos praecipue colerem, et quibus essem, sicut sum, amicissimus. 3. Quamobrem a te peto, vel potius omnibus te precibus oro et obtestor, ut in tuis maximis curis aliquid impertias temporis huic quoque cogitationi, ut tuo beneficio bonus vir, gratus, pius denique esse in maximi beneficii memoria possim. Quae si tantum ad me ipsum pertinerent, sperarem me a te tamen impetraturum; sed, ut arbitror, et ad tuam fidem et ad rempublicam pertinet, me e paucis et ad utriusque vestrum et ad civium concordiam per te quam accommodatissimum conservari. Ego, quum antea tibi de Lentulo gratias egissem, quum ei saluti, qui mihi fuerat, fuisses, tamen, lectis eius litteris, quas ad me gratissimo animo de tua liberalitate beneficioque misit, eamdem me salutem a te accepisse putavi, quam ille; in quem si me intelligis esse gratum, cura, obsecro, ut etiam in Pompeium esse possim. (*Ad Att.* IX. xi.)

## EPISTOLA LVI.

(Arpini, A.U.C. 705.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Utrumque ex tuo consilio. Nam et oratio fuit ea nostra, ut bene potius ille de nobis existimaret, quam gratias ageret: et in eo mansimus, ne ad Urbem. Illa fefellerunt, facilem quod putaramus. Nihil vidi minus; damnari se nostra iudicio, tardiores fore reliquos, si nos non venerimus, dicere. Ego, dissimilem illorum esse caussam. Quum multa: 'Veni igitur, et age de pace.' Meone, inquam, arbitratu? 'An tibi, inquit, ego praescribam?' Sic, inquam, agam, senatui non placere in Hispanias iri, nec exercitus in Graeciam transportari; multaque, inquam, de Cnaeo deplorabo. Tum ille, 'Ego vero ista dici nolo.' Ita putabam, inquam; sed ego eo nolo adesse, quod aut sic mihi dicendum est, multaque, quae nullo modo possem silere, si adessem; aut non veniendum. Summa fuit, ut ille, quasi exitum quaerens, ut deliberarem. Non fuit negandum. Ita discessimus. Credo igitur, hunc me non amare. At ego me amavi; quod mihi iam pridem usu non venit. 2. Reliqua, o dii! qui comitatus! quae, ut tu soles dicere, νεκυία! in qua erat area scelerum. O rem perditam! o copias desperatas! Quid, quod Servii filius? quod Titinii? Quot in his castris fuerunt, quibus Pompeius circumsideretur! Sex legiones. Multum vigilat, audet: nullum video finem mali. Nunc certe promenda tibi sunt consilia. Hoc fuerat extremum. 3. Illa tamen κατακλείς illius est odiosa, quam paene praeterii: si sibi consiliis nostris uti non liceret, usurum, quorum posset, ad omniaque esse descensurum. 'Vidisti igitur virum, ut scripseras? ingemuisti?' Certe. Cedo reliqua. Quid? continuo ipse in Pedanum, ego Arpinum. Inde exspecto quidem λαλαγεῦσαν illam tuam. 'Tu (malum) inquies, actum ne agas.' Etiam illum ipsum, quem sequimur, multa fefellerunt. 4. Sed ego tuas litteras exspecto. Nihil est enim iam, ut antea, *videamus hoc quorsum evadat!* Extremum fuit de congressu nostro: quo quidem non dubito quin istum offenderim. Eo maturius agendum est. Amabo te, epistolam et πολιτικήν! Valde tuas litteras nunc exspecto. (*Ad Att.* IX. xviii.)

## EPISTOLA LVII.

(Arpini, A.U.C. 705.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Ego meo Ciceroni, quoniam Roma caremus, Arpini potissimum togam puram dedi; idque municipibus nostris fuit gratum. Etsi omnes, et illos, et qua iter feci, maestos afflictosque vidi: tam tristis, et tam atrox est ἀναθεώρησις huius ingentis mali. Delectus habentur: in hiberna deducuntur. Ea, quae, etiam quum a bonis viris, quum iusto in bello, quum modeste fiunt, tamen ipsa per se molesta sunt, quam censes acerba nunc esse, quum a perditis, in civili nefario bello, petulantissime fiant! Cave autem putes, quemquam hominem in Italia turpem esse, qui hinc absit. Vidi ipse Formiis universos, neque mehercule umquam homines putavi; et noram omnes, sed numquam uno loco videram. 2. Pergamus igitur, quo placet, et nostra omnia relinquamus. Proficiscamur ad eum, cui gratior noster adventus erit, quam si una fuissemus. Tum enim eramus in maxima spe; nunc, ego quidem, in nulla; nec praeter me quisquam Italia cessit, nisi qui hunc inimicum sibi putaret. Nec mehercule hoc facio reipublicae caussa, quam funditus deletam puto: sed ne quis me putet ingratum in eum, qui me levavit iis incommodis, quibus idem affecerat: et simul, quod ea, quae fiunt, aut quae certe futura sunt, videre non possum. Etiam equidem senatus consulta facta quaedam iam puto; utinam in Volcatii sententiam! Sed quid refert? Est enim una sententia omnium. Sed erit immitissimus Servius,—qui filium misit ad effligendum Cn. Pompeium, aut certe capiendum, cum Pontio Titiniano. Etsi hic quidem timoris caussa: ille vero? Sed stomachari desinamus, et aliquando sentiamus, nihil nobis, nisi id, quod minime vellem, spiritum, reliquum esse. 3. Nos, quoniam superum mare obsidetur, infero navigabimus; et, si Puteolis erit difficile, Crotonem petemus, aut Thurios; et boni cives, amantes patriae, mare infestum habebimus. Aliam rationem huius belli gerendi nullam video. In Aegyptum nos abdemus. Exercitu pares esse non possumus. Pacis fides nulla est. Sed haec satis deplorata sunt. Tu velim litteras Cephalioni des de omnibus rebus actis, denique etiam de

sermonibus hominum; nisi plane obmutuerunt. Ego tuis consiliis usus sum, maximeque, quod gravitatem in congressu nostro tenui, quam debui, et, ad Urbem ut non accederem, perseveravi. Quod superest, scribe, quaeso, quam accuratissime, (iam enim extrema sunt,) quid placeat, quid censeas: etsi iam nulla dubitatio est. Tamen, si quid, vel potius, quidquid veniet in mentem, scribas velim. (*Ad Att.* IX. xix.)

## EPISTOLA LVIII.

(In Cumano, A.U.C. 705.)

### M. T. C. IMP. S. P. D. M. CAELIO AED. CUR.

1. Magno dolore me affecissent tuae litterae, nisi iam et ratio ipsa depulisset omnes molestias, et diuturna desperatione rerum obduruisset animus ad dolorem novum. Sed tamen quare acciderit, ut ex meis superioribus litteris id suspicarere, quod scribis, nescio. Quid enim fuit in illis, praeter querelam temporum, quae non animum meum magis sollicitum haberet, quam tuum? Nam non eam cognovi aciem ingenii tui, quod ipse videam, te id ut non putem videre. Illud miror, adduci potuisse te, qui me penitus nosse deberes, ut me existimares aut tam improvidum, qui ab excitata fortuna ad inclinatam et prope iacentem descisceres, aut tam inconstantem, ut collectam gratiam florentissimi hominis effunderem, a meque ipse deficerem et, quod initio semperque fugi, civili bello interessem. 2. Quod est igitur meum triste consilium? Ut discederem fortasse in aliquas solitudines? Nosti enim non modo stomachi mei, cuius tu similem quondam habebas, sed etiam oculorum in hominum insolentium indignitate fastidium. Accedit etiam molesta haec pompa lictorum meorum nomenque imperii, quo appellor. Eo si onere carerem, quamvis parvis Italiae latebris contentus essem. Sed incurrit haec nostra laurus non solum in oculos, sed iam etiam in voculas malevolorum. Quod quum ita esset, nil tamen umquam de profectione, nisi vobis approbantibus, cogitavi. Sed mea praediola tibi nota sunt; in his mihi necesse est esse, ne amicis molestus sim. Quod autem in maritimis sum facillime, moveo nonnullis suspicionem, velle me navigare: quod tamen fortasse non nollem, si possem ad otium. Nam ad bellum quidem qui

convenit? praesertim contra eum, cui spero me satisfecisse, ab eo, cui tamen satisfieri nullo modo potest? 3. Deinde sententiam meam tu facillime perspicere potuisti iam ab illo tempore, quum in Cumanum mihi obviam venisti. Non enim te celavi sermonem T. Ampii; vidisti, quam abhorrerem ab Urbe relinquenda. Quod quum audissem, nonne tibi affirmavi, quidvis me potius perpessurum, quam ex Italia ad bellum civile exiturum? Quid ergo accidit, cur consilium mutarem? Nonne omnia potius, ut in sententia permanerem? Credas hoc mihi velim, quod puto te existimare, me ex his miseriis nihil aliud quaerere, nisi ut homines aliquando intelligant, me nihil maluisse, quam pacem: ea desperata, nihil tam fugisse, quam arma civilia. Huius me constantiae puto fore ut numquam poeniteat. Etenim memini in hoc genere gloriari solitum esse familiarem nostrum, Q. Hortensium, quod numquam bello civili interfuisset. Hoc nostra laus erit illustrior, quod hoc illi tribuebatur ignaviae, de nobis id existimari posse non arbitror. 4. Nec me ista terrent, quae mihi a te ad timorem fidelissime atque amantissime proponuntur. Nulla est enim acerbitas, quae non omnibus hac orbis terrarum perturbatione impendere videatur: quam quidem ego a republica meis privatis et domesticis incommodis libentissime, vel istis ipsis, quae tu me mones ut caveam, redemissem. 5. Filio meo, quem tibi carum esse gaudeo, si erit ulla respublica, satis amplum patrimonium relinquam memoriam nominis mei: sin autem nulla erit, nihil accidet ei separatim a reliquis civibus. Nam quod rogas, ut respiciam generum meum adolescentem optimum mihique carissimum; an dubitas, quum scias, quanti quum illum, tum vero Tulliam meam faciam, quin ea me cura vehementissime sollicitet? et eo magis, quod in communibus miseriis hac tamen oblectabar specula, Dolabellam meum, vel potius nostrum, fore ab iis molestiis, quas liberalitate sua contraxerat, liberum. Velim quaeras, quos ille dies sustinuerit, in Urbe dum fuit, quam acerbos sibi, quam mihi ipsi socero non honestos. 6. Itaque neque ego hunc Hispaniensem casum exspecto, de quo mihi exploratum est ita esse, ut tu scribis, nec quidquam astute cogito. Si quando erit civitas, erit profecto nobis locus: sin autem non erit, in easdem solitudines tu ipse (ut arbitror) venies, in quibus nos consedisse audies. Sed ego fortasse vaticinor: et haec omnia meliores habebunt exitus. Recordor

enim desperationes eorum, qui senes erant, adolescente me: eos ego fortasse nunc imitor, et utor aetatis vitio. Velim ita sit. Sed tamen! . . . 7. Togam praetextam texi Oppio, puto te audisse. Nam Curtius noster dibaphum cogitat: sed eum infector moratur. Hoc aspersi, ut scires me tamen in stomacho solere ridere. Dolabellae, quod scripsi, suadeo videas, tamquam si tua res agatur. Extremum illud erit: nos nihil turbulenter, nihil temere faciemus. Te tamen oramus, quibuscumque erimus in terris, ut nos liberosque nostros ita tueare, ut amicitia nostra et tua fides postulabit. [Vale.] (*Ad Div.* II. xvi.)

## EPISTOLA LIX.

(In Cumano, A.U.C. 705.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Et res ipsa monebat, et tu ostenderas, et ego videbam, de iis rebus, quas intercipi periculosum esset, finem inter nos scribendi fieri tempus esse. Sed, quum ad me saepe mea Tullia scribat, orans, ut, quid in Hispania geratur, exspectem, et semper ascribat, idem videri tibi, idque ipse etiam ex tuis litteris intellexerim, non puto esse alienum, me ad te, quid de ea re sentiam, scribere. 2. Consilium istud tunc esset prudens, ut mihi videtur, si nostras rationes ad Hispaniensem casum accommodaturi essemus; quod fieri dicitis oportere. Necesse est enim, aut, id quod maxime velim, pelli istum ab Hispania, aut trahi id bellum, aut istum, ut confidere videtur, apprehendere Hispanias. Si pelletur; quam gratus, aut quam honestus tum erit ad Pompeium noster adventus, quum ipsum Curionem ad eum transiturum putem? Sin trahitur bellum; quid exspectem, aut quam diu? Relinquitur, ut, si vincimur in Hispania, quiescamus. Id ego contra puto: istum enim victorem magis relinquendum puto, quam victum, et dubitantem magis, quam fidentem suis rebus. Nam caedem video, si vicerit, et impetum in privatorum pecunias, et exsulum reditum, et tabulas novas, et turpissimorum honores et regnum non modo Romano homini, sed ne Persae quidem cuiquam tolerabile. 3. Tacita esse poterit indignitas nostra? pati poterunt oculi, me cum Gabinio sententiam dicere? et quidem illum rogari prius? praesto esse clientem tuum Clo-

dium? C. Ateii Plaguleium? ceteros? Sed cur inimicos colligo? qui meos necessarios, a me defensos, nec videre in curia sine dolore, nec versari inter eos sine dedecore potero. Quid? si ne id quidem est exploratum, fore, ut mihi liceat; (scribunt enim ad me amici eius, me illi nullo modo satisfecisse, quod in senatum non venerim;) tamenne dubitemus, an ei nos etiam cum periculo venditemus, quicum coniuncti ne cum praemio quidem voluimus esse? 4. Deinde hoc vide, non esse iudicium de tota contentione in Hispaniis: nisi forte, iis amissis, arma Pompeium abiecturum putas; cuius omne consilium Themistocleum est. Existimat enim, qui mare teneat, eum necesse esse rerum potiri. Itaque, quia numquam id egit, ut Hispaniae per se tenerentur, navalis apparatus ei semper antiquissima cura fuit. Navigabit igitur, quum erit tempus, maximis classibus, et ad Italiam accedet; in qua nos sedentes quid erimus? nam medios esse iam non licebit. Adversabimur igitur? Quod malum maius? denique quid turpius? An, qui invalidi et absentis solus tuli scelus, eiusdem cum Pompeio et cum reliquis principibus non feram? 5. Quod si iam, misso officio, periculi ratio habenda est; ab illis est periculum, si peccaro: ab hoc, si recte fecero: nec ullum in his malis consilium periculo vacuum inveniri potest: ut non sit dubium, quin turpiter facere cum periculo fugiamus, quod fugeremus etiam cum salute. Non simul cum Pompeio mare transierimus? Omnino non potuimus. Exstat ratio dierum. Sed tamen (fateamur enim, quod est; ne condamus quidem, ut possumus;) fefellit ea me res, quae fortasse non debuit; sed fefellit: pacem putavi fore; quae si esset, iratum mihi Caesarem esse, quum idem amicus esset Pompeio, nolui. Senseram enim, quam iidem essent. Hoc verens, in hanc tarditatem incidi. Sed assequor omnia, si propero; si cunctor, amitto. 6. Et tamen, mi Attice, auguria quoque me incitant quadam spe non dubia, non haec collegii nostri ab Appio, sed illa Platonis de tyrannis. Nullo enim modo posse video stare istum diutius, quin ipse per se, etiam languentibus nobis, concidat; quippe qui florentissimus ac novus, VI. VII. diebus ipsi illi egenti ac perditae multitudini in odium acerbissimum venerit; qui duarum rerum simulationem tam cito amiserit, mansuetudinis in Metello, divitiarum in aerario. Iam, quibus utatur vel sociis vel ministris, si ii provincias, si rempublicam regent, quorum nemo duo menses

potuit patrimonium suum gubernare? 7. Non sunt omnia colligenda, quae tu acutissime perspicis: sed tamen ea pone ante oculos: iam intelliges, id regnum vix semestre esse posse. Quod si me fefellerit, feram, sicut multi clarissimi homines in republica excellentes tulerunt: nisi forte me Sardanapali vicem in lectulo mori malle censueris quam exsilio Themistocleo: qui quum fuisset, ut ait Thucydides, *τῶν μὲν παρόντων δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων, τῶν δὲ μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής*, tamen incidit in eos casus, quos vitasset, si eum nihil fefellisset. Etsi is erat (ut ait idem), qui *τὸ ἄμεινον καὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ἔτι προεώρα μάλιστα*, tamen non vidit, nec quo modo Lacedaemoniorum, nec quomodo suorum civium invidiam effugeret, nec quid Artaxerxi polliceretur. Non fuisset et illa nox tam acerba Africano sapientissimo viro, non tam dirus ille dies Sullanus callidissimo viro C. Mario, si nihil utrumque eorum fefellisset. Nos tamen hoc confirmamus illo augurio, quo diximus; nec nos fallit, nec aliter accidet. 8. Corruat iste necesse est aut per adversarios aut ipse per se, qui quidem sibi est adversarius unus acerrimus. Id spero vivis nobis fore. Quamquam tempus est, nos de illa perpetua iam, non de hac exigua vita cogitare. Sin quid acciderit maturius, haud sane mea multum interfuerit, utrum factum videam, an futurum esse multo ante viderim. Quae quum ita sint, non est committendum, ut iis pareamus, quos contra me senatus, ne quid respublica detrimenti acciperet, armavit. Tibi sunt omnia commendata; quae commendationis meae pro tuo in nos amore non indigent. Ne hercule ego quidem reperio, quid scribam. Sedeo enim *πλουδοκῶν*. Etsi nihil antiquius fuit scribendum, quam nihil mihi umquam ex plurimis tuis iucunditatibus gratius accidisse, quam quod meam Tulliam suavissime diligentissimeque coluisti. Valde eo ipsa delectata est: ego autem non minus; cuius quidem virtus mirifica. Quo modo illa fert publicam cladem! quo modo domesticas tricas! quantus autem animus in discessu nostro! Sit *στοργή*, sit summa *σύντηξις*; tamen nos recte facere et bene audire vult. Sed hac super re nimis; ne meam ipse *συμπάθειαν* iam evocem. Tu, si quid de Hispaniis certius, et si quid aliud, dum adsumus, scribes: et ego fortasse discedendo dabo ad te aliquid; eo etiam magis, quod Tullia te non putabat hoc tempore ex Italia. Cum Antonio item est

agendum, ut cum Curione, Melitae me velit esse, huic bello nolle interesse. Eo velim tam facili uti possem, et tam bono in me, quam Curione. Is ad Misenum VI. Nonas venturus dicebatur, id est hodie: sed praemisit mihi odiosas litteras, hoc exemplo:

## ANTONIUS TRIB. PLEB. PROPRAET. CICERONI IMP. S.

Nisi te valde amarem, et multo quidem plus, quam tu putas, non extimuissem rumorem, qui de te prolatus est, quum praesertim falsum esse existimarem. Sed quia te nimio plus diligo, non possum dissimulare mihi famam quoque, quamvis sit falsa, magni esse. Te iturum trans mare, credere non possum, quum tanti facias Dolabellam et Tulliam tuam, feminam lectissimam, tantique ab omnibus nobis fias; quibus mehercule dignitas amplitudoque tua paene carior est, quam tibi ipsi. Sed tamen non sum arbitratus esse amici non commoveri etiam improborum sermone: atque eo feci studiosius, quod iudicabam duriores partes mihi impositas esse ab offensione nostra, quae magis a ζηλοτυπίᾳ mea, quam ab iniuria tua nata est. Sic enim volo te tibi persuadere, mihi neminem esse cariorem te, excepto Caesare meo, meque illud una iudicare, Caesarem maxime in suis M. Ciceronem reponere. 2. Quare, mi Cicero, te rogo, ut tibi omnia integra serves, eius fidem improbes, qui tibi, ut beneficium daret, prius iniuriam fecit: contra ne profugias, qui te, etsi non amabit, (quod accidere non potest,) tamen salvum amplissimumque esse cupiet. Dedita opera ad te Calpurnium, familiarissimum meum, misi; ut mihi magnae curae tuam vitam ac dignitatem esse scires.

Eodem die a Caesare Philotimus attulit, hoc exemplo:

## CAESAR IMP. CICERONI IMP. S.

1. Etsi te nihil temere, nihil imprudenter facturum iudicaram, tamen permotus hominum fama, scribendum ad te existimavi, et pro nostra benevolentia petendum, ne quo progredereris, proclinata iam re, quo, integra etiam, progre-

diendum tibi non existimasses. Namque et amicitiae graviorem iniuriam feceris, et tibi minus commode consulueris, si non fortunae obsecutus videbere, (omnia enim secundissima nobis, adversissima illis accidisse videntur,) nec caussam secutus, (eadem enim tum fuit, quum ab eorum consiliis abesse iudicasti,) sed meum aliquod factum condemnavisse: quo mihi gravius abs te nil accidere potest. Quod ne facias, pro iure nostrae amicitiae a te peto. 2. Postremo, quid viro bono et quieto, et bono civi magis convenit, quam abesse a civilibus controversiis? quod nonnulli quum probarent, periculi caussa sequi non potuerunt. Tu, explorato et vitae meae testimonio et amicitiae iudicio, neque tutius neque honestius reperies quidquam, quam ab omni contentione abesse. xv. Kal. Mai. ex itinere. (*Ad Att.* X. viii.)

## EPISTOLA LX.

(In Pompeiano, A.U.C. 705.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Commodum ad te dederam litteras de pluribus rebus, quum ad me bene mane Dionysius fuit: cui quidem ego non modo placabilem me praebuissem, sed totum remisissem, si advenisset, qua mente tu ad me scripseras. Erat enim sic in tuis litteris, quas Arpini acceperam, eum venturum facturumque, quod ego vellem. Ego volebam autem, vel cupiebam potius, esse eum nobiscum. Quod quia plane, quum in Formianum venisset, praeciderat, asperius ad te de eo scribere solebam. At ille perpauca locutus, hanc summam habuit orationis: ut sibi ignoscerem; se rebus suis impeditum nobiscum ire non posse. Pauca respondi; magnum accepi dolorem; intellexi fortunam ab eo nostram despectam esse. Quid quaeris? Fortasse miraberis: in maximis horum temporum doloribus hunc mihi scito esse. Velim, ut tibi amicus sit. Hoc quum tibi opto, opto ut beatus sis. Erit enim tamdiu. 2. Consilium nostrum spero vacuum periculo fore. Nam et dissimulabimus, etsi, ut opinor, acerrime adservabimur, navigatio modo sit, qualem opto. Cetera, quae quidem consilio provideri poterunt, cavebuntur. Tu, dum adsumus, non modo quae scieris audierisve, sed etiam quae futura provi-

debis, scribas velim. 3. Cato, qui Siciliam tenere nullo negotio potuit, et, si tenuisset, omnes boni ad eum se contulissent, Syracusis profectus est ante diem VIII. Kal. Mai., ut ad me Curio scripsit. Utinam, quod aiunt, Cotta Sardiniam teneat! est enim rumor. O, si id fuerit, turpem Catonem! 4. Ego, ut minuerem suspicionem profectionis aut cogitationis meae, profectus sum in Pompeianum a. d. IV. Id., ut ibi essem, dum, quae ad navigandum opus essent, pararentur. Quum ad villam venissem, ventum est ad me; centuriones trium cohortium, quae Pompeiis sunt, me velle postridie; (haec mecum Ninnius noster;) velle eos mihi se et oppidum tradere. At ego tibi postridie a villa ante lucem, ut me omnino illi ne viderent. Quid enim erat in tribus cohortibus? Quid, si plures? quo apparatu? Cogitavi eadem illa Caeliana, quae legi in epistola tua, quam accepi, simul et in Cumanum veni, eodem die, et simul fieri poterat, ut tentaremur. Omnem igitur suspicionem sustuli. 5. Sed quum redeo, Hortensius venerat, et ad Terentiam salutatum diverterat: sermone erat usus honorifico erga me. Tamen eum, ut puto, videbo. Misit enim puerum, se ad me venire. Hoc quidem melius, quam collega noster Antonius: cuius inter lictores lectica mima portatur. 6. Tu, quoniam quartana cares, et nedum morbum removisti, sed etiam gravedinem, te vegetum nobis in Graecia siste: et litterarum aliquid interea. (*Ad Att.* X. xvi.)

## EPISTOLA LXI.

(In Pompeii castris, A.U.C. 706.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Accepi ab Isidoro litteras, et postea datas binas. Ex proximis cognovi praedia non venisse. Videbis ergo, ut sustentetur per te. De Frusinati, si modo futuri sumus, erit mihi res opportuna. Meas litteras quod requiris, impedior inopia rerum, quas nullas habeo litteris dignas; quippe cui nec, quae accidunt, nec, quae aguntur, ullo modo probentur. Utinam coram tecum olim potius, quam per epistolas! Hic tua, ut possum, tueor apud hos: cetera Celer. Ipse fugi adhuc omne munus, eo magis, quod ita nihil poterat agi, ut mihi et meis rebus aptum esset. 2. Quid sit gestum novi,

quaeris: ex Isidoro scire poteris: reliqua non videntur esse difficiliora. Tu id velim, quod scis me maxime velle, cures, ut scribis, ut facis. Me conficit sollicitudo, ex qua etiam summa infirmitas corporis: qua levata, ero una cum eo, qui negotium gerit, estque in spe magna. Brutus amicus in caussa versatur acriter. Hactenus fuit, quod caute a me scribi posset. Vale. De pensione altera, oro te, omni cura considera, quid faciendum sit, ut scripsi iis litteris, quas Pollex tulit. (*Ad Att.* XI. iv.)

## EPISTOLA LXII.

(Brundisii, A.U.C. 707.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Ego vero et incaute, ut scribis, et celerius, quam oportuit, feci, nec in ulla sum spe; quippe qui exceptionibus edictorum retinear: quae si non essent sedulitate effectae et benevolentia tua, liceret mihi abire in solitudines aliquas. Nunc ne id quidem licet. Quid autem me iuvat, quod ante initum tribunatum veni, si ipsum, quod veni, nihil iuvat? Iam, quid sperem ab eo, qui mihi amicus numquam fuit: quum iam lege etiam sim confectus et oppressus? Quotidie iam Balbi ad me litterae languidiores; multaeque multorum ad illum, fortasse contra me. Meo vitio pereo. Nihil mihi mali casus attulit; omnia culpa contracta sunt. Ego enim, quum genus belli viderem, imparata et infirma omnia contra paratissimos sciveram; (quid facerem?) ceperamque consilium non tam forte, quam mihi praeter ceteros concedendum. 2. Cessi meis, vel potius parui: ex quibus unus qua mente fuerit, is, quem tu mihi commendas, cognosces ex ipsius litteris, quas ad te et ad alios misit; quas ego numquam aperuissem, nisi res acta sic esset: delatus est ad me fasciculus; solvi, si quid ad me esset litterarum: nihil erat; epistola Vatinio et Ligurio altera; iussi ad eos deferri: illi ad me statim ardentes dolore venerunt, scelus hominis clamantes; epistolas mihi legerunt plenas omnium in me probrorum. Hic Ligurius furere: se enim scire, summo illum in odio fuisse Caesari: illum tamen non modo favisse, sed et tantam illi pecuniam dedisse honoris mei caussa. Hoc ego dolore accepto, volui scire, quid scripsisset ad ceteros. Ipsi enim

illi putavi perniciosum fore, si eius hoc tantum scelus percrebruisset. Cognovi eiusdem generis: ad te misi: quas si putabis illi ipsi utile esse reddi, reddes; nil me laedet. Nam quod resignatae sunt; habet, opinor, eius signum Pomponia. Hac ille acerbitate initio navigationis quum usus esset, tanto me dolore affecit, ut postea iacuerim: neque nunc tam pro se, quam contra me, laborare dicitur. 3. Ita omnibus rebus urgeor; quas sustinere vix possum, vel plane nullo modo possum. Quibus in miseriis una est pro omnibus, quod istam miseram patre, patrimonio, fortuna omni spoliatam relinquam. Quare te, ut polliceris, videre plane velim. Alium enim, cui illam commendem, habeo neminem; quoniam matri quoque eadem intellexi esse parata, quae mihi. Sed, si me non offendes, satis tamen habeto commendatam, patruumque in ea, quantum poteris, mitigato. Haec ad te die natali meo scripsi: quo utinam susceptus non essem, aut ne quid ex eadem matre postea natum esset! Plura scribere fletu prohibeor. (*Ad Att.* XI. ix.)

## EPISTOLA LXIII.

(Brundisii, A.U.C. 707.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Cephalio mihi a te litteras reddidit a. d. VIII. Id. Mart. vespere. Eo autem die mane tabellarios miseram, quibus ad te dederam litteras. Tuis tamen lectis litteris, putavi aliquid rescribendum esse, maxime, quod ostendis, te pendere animi, quamnam rationem sim Caesari allaturus profectionis meae tum, quum ex Italia discesserim. Nihil opus est mihi nova ratione. Saepe enim ad eum scripsi, multisque mandavi, non potuisse, quum cupissem, sermones hominum sustinere; multaque in eam sententiam. Nihil enim erat, quod minus eum vellem existimare, quam me tanta de re non meo consilio usum esse. Postea, quum mihi litterae a Balbo Cornelio minore missae essent, illum existimare, Quintum fratrem lituum meae profectionis fuisse: (ita enim scripsit:) qui nondum cognossem, quae de me Quintus scripsisset ad multos: etsi multa praesens in praesentem acerbe dixerat et fecerat: tamen de eo his verbis ad Caesarem scripsi.

2. *De Quinto fratre meo non minus laboro, quam de me*

*ipso: sed eum tibi commendare hoc meo tempore non audeo. Illud dumtaxat tamen audebo petere abs te, quod te oro, ne quid existimes ab illo factum esse, quo minus mea in te officia constarent, minusve te diligerem, potiusque semper illum auctorem nostrae coniunctionis fuisse, meique itineris comitem, non ducem. Quare ceteris in rebus tantum ei tribues, quantum humanitas tua amicitiaque vestra postulat. Ego ei ne quid apud te obsim, id te vehementer etiam atque etiam rogo.*

Quare, si quis congressus fuerit mihi cum Caesare, (etsi non dubito, quin is lenis in illum futurus sit, idque iam declaraverit,) ego tamen is ero, qui semper fui. 3. Sed, ut video, multo magis est nobis laborandum de Africa; quam quidem tu scribis confirmari quotidie magis ad conditionis spem, quam victoriae. Quod utinam ita esset! Sed longe aliter esse intelligo; teque ipsum ita existimare arbitror, aliter autem scribere, non fallendi, sed confimandi mei caussa, praesertim quum adiungatur ad Africam etiam Hispania. 4. Quod me admones, ut scribam ad Antonium et ad ceteros: si quid videbitur tibi opus esse, velim facias id, quod saepe fecisti. Nihil enim mihi venit in mentem, quod scribendum putem. Quod me audis erectiorem esse animo: quid putas, quum videas, accessisse ad superiores aegritudines praeclaras generi actiones? Tu tamen velim ne intermittas, quoad eius facere poteris, scribere ad me, etiamsi rem, de qua scribas, non habebis. Semper enim afferunt aliquid mihi tuae litterae. Galeonis hereditatem crevi. Puto enim cretionem simplicem fuisse, quoniam ad me nulla missa est. VIII. Id. Mart. (*Ad Att.* XI. xii.)

## EPISTOLA LXIV.

(Brundisii, A.U.C. 707.)

## CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Quoniam iustas caussas affers, quod te hoc tempore videre non possim: quaeso, quid sit mihi faciendum. Ille enim ita videtur Alexandriam tenere, ut eum scribere etiam pudeat de illis rebus. Hi autem ex Africa iam adfuturi videntur; Achaei item ex Asia redituri ad eos, aut libero aliquo loco commoraturi. Quid mihi igitur putas agendum?

Video difficile esse consilium. Sum enim solus, aut cum altero, cui neque ad illos reditus sit, neque ab his ipsis quidquam ad spem ostendatur. Sed tamen scire velim, quid censeas: idque erat cum aliis, cur te, si fieri posset, cuperem videre. 2. Minucium XII. sola curasse, scripsi ad te antea: quod superest, velim videas, ut curetur. Quintus non modo non cum magna prece ad me, sed acerbissime scripsit: filius vero mirifico odio. Nihil fingi potest mali, quo non urgear. Omnia tamen sunt faciliora, quam peccati dolor, qui et maximus est et aeternus: cuius peccati si socios essem habiturus ego, quos putavi, tamen esset consolatio tenuis. Sed habet aliorum omnium ratio exitum, mea nullum. Alii capti, alii interclusi non veniunt in dubium de voluntate, eo minus scilicet, quum se expedierint et una esse coeperint. Ii autem ipsi, qui sua voluntate ad Fufium venerunt, nihil possunt, nisi timidi, existimari. Multi autem sunt, qui, quicumque sunt, modo ad illos se recipere volent, recipientur. Quo minus debes mirari, non posse me tanto dolori resistere. Solius enim meum peccatum corrigi non potest, et fortasse Laelii. Sed quid me id levat? Nam C. quidem Cassium aiunt consilium Alexandriam eundi mutavisse. 3. Haec ad te scribo, non ut queas tu demere sollicitudinem, sed ut cognoscam, ecquid tu ad ea afferas, quae me conficiunt; ad quae gener accedit, et cetera, quae, fletu reprimor, ne scribam. Quin etiam Aesopi filius me excruciat. Prorsus nihil abest, quin sim miserrimus. Sed ad primum revertor: quid putes faciendum: occultene aliquo propius veniendum, an mare transeundum. Nam hic maneri diutius non potest. 4. De Fufidianis quare nihil potuit confici? Genus enim conditionis eiusmodi fuit, in quo non solet esse controversia; quum ea pars, quae videtur esse minor, licitatione expleri posset. Haec ego non sine caussa quaero. Suspicor enim, coheredes dubiam nostram caussam putare, et eo rem in integro esse malle. Vale. Pridie Idus Maias. (*Ad Att.* XI. xv.)

## EPISTOLA LXV.

(Brundisii, A.U.C. 707.)

## M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO.

1. Etsi uterque nostrum, spe pacis et odio civilis sanguinis, abesse a belli necessarii pertinacia voluit: tamen, quando eius consilii princeps ego fuisse videor, plus fortasse tibi praestare ipse debeo, quam a te exspectare. Etsi, ut saepe soleo mecum recordari, sermo familiaris meus tecum, et item mecum tuus, adduxit utrumque nostrum ad id consilium, ut uno praelio putaremus, si non totam caussam, at certe nostrum iudicium definiri convenire. Neque quisquam hanc nostram sententiam vere umquam reprehendit, praeter eos, qui arbitrantur melius esse, deleri omnino rempublicam, quam imminutam et debilitatam manere. Ego autem ex interitu eius nullam spem scilicet mihi proponebam: ex reliquiis magnam. 2. Sed ea sunt consecuta, ut magis mirum sit, accidere illa potuisse, quam nos non vidisse ea futura, nec, homines quum essemus, divinare potuisse. Equidem fateor, meam coniecturam hanc fuisse, ut, illo quasi quodam fatali praelio facto, et victores communi saluti consuli vellent, et victi suae: utrumque autem positum esse arbitrabar in celeritate victoris. Quae si fuisset, eamdem clementiam experta esset Africa, quam cognovit Asia, quam etiam Achaia, te, ut opinor, ipso allegato ac deprecatore. Amissis autem temporibus, quae plurimum valent, praesertim in bellis civilibus, interpositus annus alios induxit, ut victoriam sperarent, alios, ut ipsum vinci contemnerent. Atque horum malorum omnium culpam fortuna sustinet. Quis enim aut Alexandrini belli tantam moram huic bello adiunctum iri, aut nescio quem istum Pharnacem Asiae terrorem illaturum putaret? 3. Nos tamen, in consilio pari, casu dissimili usi sumus. Tu enim eam partem petisti, ut et consiliis interesses, et, quod maxime curam levat, futura animo prospicere posses. Ego, qui festinavi, ut Caesarem in Italia viderem, (sic enim arbitrabamur,) eumque, multis honestissimis viris conservatis, redeuntem, ad pacem currentem, ut aiunt, incitarem: ab illo longissime et absum et abfui. Versor autem in gemitu Italiae, et in Urbis miserrimis querelis: quibus aliquid opis fortasse ego pro mea, tu

pro tua, pro sua quisque parte ferre potuisset, si auctor adfuisset. 4. Quare velim pro tua perpetua erga me benevolentia scribas ad me, quid videas, quid sentias, quid exspectandum, quid agendum nobis existimes. Magni erunt mihi tuae litterae; atque utinam primis illis, quas Luceria miseras, paruissem! sine ulla enim molestia dignitatem meam retinuissem. Vale. (*Ad Div.* XV. xv.)

## EPISTOLA LXVI.

(Brundisii, A.U.C. 707.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Septimo decimo Kal. Sept. venerat die XXVIII. Seleucia Pieria C. Trebonius, is, qui se Antiochiae diceret apud Caesarem vidisse Quintum filium cum Hirtio. Eos de Quinto, quae voluissent, impetrasse nullo quidem negotio. Quod ego magis gauderem, si ista nobis impetrata quidquam ad spem explorati haberent. Sed et alia timenda sunt ab aliis, et ab hoc ipso quae dantur, ut a domino, rursus in eiusdem sunt potestate. 2. Etiam Salustio ignovit. Omnino dicitur nemini negare. Quod ipsum est suspectum, notionem eius differri. M. Gallius Q. F. mancipia Salustio reddidit. Is venit, ut legiones in Siciliam traduceret: eo protinus iturum Caesarem Patris. Quod si faciet, ego, quod ante mallem, aliquo propius accedam. Tuas litteras ad eas, quibus a te proxime consilium petivi, vehementer exspecto. Vale. XVI. Kal. Septemb. (*Ad Att.* XI. xx.)

## EPISTOLA LXVII.

(Brundisii, A.U.C. 707.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Diligenter mihi fasciculum reddidit Balbi tabellarius. Accepi enim a te litteras, quibus videris vereri, ut epistolas illas acceperim, quas quidem vellem mihi numquam redditas. Auxerunt enim mihi dolorem; nec, si in aliquem incidissent, quidquam novi attulissent. Quid enim tam pervulgatum, quam illius in me odium, et genus hoc litterarum? quod ne Caesar quidem ad istos videtur misisse, quo illius

improbitate offenderetur, sed, credo, uti notiora nostra mala essent. Nam quod te vereri scribis, ne illi obsint, eique rei mederi; ne rogari quidem se passus est de illo: quod quidem mihi molestum non est: illud molestius, istas impetrationes nostras nihil valere. 2. Sulla, ut opinor, cras hic erit cum Messalla. Currunt ad illum pulsi a militibus; qui se negant usquam, nisi acceperint. Ergo ille huc veniet: quod non putabant: tarde quidem. Itinera enim ita facit, ut multos dies in oppidum ponat. Pharnaces autem, quoquo modo aget, afferet moram. Quid mihi igitur censes? Iam enim corpore vix sustineo gravitatem huius caeli, quae mihi laborem affert in dolore. An his illuc euntibus mandem, ut me excusent, ipse accedam propius? Quaeso, attende, et me, quod adhuc saepe rogatus non fecisti, consilio iuva; scio rem difficilem esse; sed, ut in malis. Etiam illud mea magni interest, te ut videam. Profecto aliquid profecero, si id acciderit. De testamento, ut scribis, animadvertes. (*Ad Att.* XI. xxii.)

## EPISTOLA LXVIII.

(Romae, A.U.C. 708.)

## CICERO VARRONI.

1. Caninius tuus et idem noster, quum ad me pervesperi venisset et se postridie mane ad te iturum esse dixisset: dixi ei me daturum aliquid; mane ut peteret, rogavi. Conscripsi epistolam noctu; nec ille ad me rediit; oblitum credidi. Attamen eam ipsam tibi epistolam misissem per meos, nisi audissem ex eodem, postridie te mane e Tusculano exiturum. At tibi repente paucis post diebus, quum minime exspectarem, venit ad me Caninius mane: proficisci ad te statim dixit. Etsi erat ἕωλος illa epistola, praesertim tantis postea novis rebus allatis, tamen perire lucubrationem meam nolui, et eam ipsam Caninio dedi: sed cum eo, ut cum homine docto et tui amantissimo, locutus ea sum, quae pertulisse illum ad te existimo. 2. Tibi autem idem consilii do, quod mihimetipsi: ut vitemus oculos hominum, si linguas minus facile possimus. Qui enim victoria se efferunt, quasi victos nos intuentur; qui autem victos nostros moleste ferunt, nos dolent vivere. Quaeres fortasse, cur, quum haec in Urbe

sint, non absim, quemadmodum tu. Tu enim ipse, qui et me et alios prudentia vincis, omnia, credo, vidisti; nihil te omnino fefellit. Quis est tam lynceus, qui in tantis tenebris nihil offendat, nusquam incurrat? 3. Ac mihi quidem iam pridem venit in mentem, bellum esse aliquo exire, ut ea, quae agebantur hic, quaeque dicebantur, nec viderem nec audirem. Sed calumniabar ipse. Putabam, qui obviam mihi venisset, ut cuique commodum esset, suspicaturum aut dicturum, etiamsi non suspicaretur: Hic aut metuit, et ea re fugit, aut aliquid cogitat et habet navem paratam. Denique, levissime qui suspicaretur, et qui fortasse me optime novisset, putaret me idcirco discedere, quod quosdam homines oculi mei ferre non possent. Haec ego suspicans, adhuc Romae maneo: et tamen λεληθότως consuetudo diuturna callum iam obduxit stomacho meo. 4. Habes rationem mei consilii. Tibi igitur hoc censeo: latendum tantisper ibidem, dum effervescit haec gratulatio, et simul dum audiamus, quemadmodum negotium confectum sit; confectum enim esse existimo. Magni autem intererit, qui fuerit victoris animus, qui exitus rerum. Quamquam quo me coniectura ducat, habeo: sed exspecto tamen. 5. Te vero nolo, nisi ipse rumor iam raucus erit factus, ad Baias venire. Erit enim nobis honestius, etiam quum discesserimus, videri venisse in illa loca ploratum potius quam natatum. Sed haec tu melius: modo nobis stet illud, una vivere in studiis nostris, a quibus antea delectationem modo petebamus, nunc vero etiam salutem; non deesse, si quis adhibere volet, non modo ut architectos, verum etiam ut fabros, ad aedificandum rempublicam, et potius libenter accurrere: si nemo utetur opera, tamen et scribere et legere πολιτείας: et si minus in curia atque in foro, at in litteris et libris, ut doctissimi veteres fecerunt, navare rem publicam, et de moribus ac legibus quaerere. Mihi haec videntur. Tu, quid sis acturus, et quid tibi placeat, pergratum erit, si ad me scripseris. (*Ad Div.* IX. ii.)

## EPISTOLA LXIX.

(In Tusculano, A.U.C. 708.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. O gratas tuas mihi iucundasque litteras! Quid quaeris? restitutus est mihi dies festus. Angebar enim, quod Tiro ἐνερευθέστερον te sibi esse visum dixerat. Addam igitur, ut censes, unum diem. 2. Sed te Catone πρόβλημα Ἀρχιμήδειον est. Non assequor, ut scribam, quod tui convivae non modo libenter, sed etiam aequo animo legere possint. Quin etiam, si a sententiis eius dictis, si ab omni voluntate consiliisque, quae de republica habuit, recedam, ψιλῶςque velim gravitatem constantiamque eius laudare; hoc ipsum tamen istis odiosum ἄκουσμα sit. Sed vere laudari ille vir non potest, nisi haec ornata sint: quod ille ea, quae nunc sunt, et futura viderit et, ne fierent, contenderit et, facta ne videret, vitam reliquerit. Horum quid est, quod Aledio probare possimus? Sed cura obsecro, ut valeas, eamque, quam ad omnes res adhibes, in primis ad convalescendum adhibe prudentiam. (*Ad Att.* XII. iv.)

## EPISTOLA LXX.

(Romae, A.U.C. 708.)

### CICERO VARRONI.

1. Caninius noster me tuis verbis admonuit, ut scriberem ad te, si quid esset, quod putarem te scire oportere. Est igitur adventus Caesaris scilicet in exspectatione: neque tu id ignoras. Sed tamen, quum ille scripsisset, ut opinor, se in Alsiense venturum; scripserunt ad eum sui, ne id faceret: multos ei molestos fore, ipsumque multis. Ostiae videri commodius eum exire posse. Id ego non intelligebam, quid interesset. Sed tamen Hirtius mihi dixit, et se ad eum, et Balbum, et Oppium scripsisse, ut ita faceret, homines, ut cognovi, amantes tui. 2. Hoc ego idcirco nosse te volui, ut scires, hospitium tibi ubi parares, vel potius ut utrobique: quid enim ille facturus sit, incertum est: et simul ostentavi tibi, me istis esse familiarem et consiliis eorum interesse. Quod ego cur nolim, nihil video. Non enim est idem, ferre,

si quid ferendum est, et probare, si quid probandum non est. Etsi quid non probem? Quid enim iam scio praeter initia rerum? Nam haec in voluntate fuerunt. Vidi enim (nam tu aberas) nostros amicos cupere bellum: hunc autem non tam cupere, quam non timere. Ergo haec consilii fuerunt, reliqua necessaria. Vincere autem aut hos aut illos necesse est. 3. Scio te semper mecum in luctu fuisse, quum videremus, quam illud ingens malum alterius utrius exercitus et ducum interitu: tum vero extremum malorum omnium esse civilis belli victoriam: quam quidem ego etiam illorum timebam, ad quos veneramus. Crudeliter enim otiosis minabantur: eratque iis et tua invisa voluntas et mea oratio. Nunc vero, si essent nostri potiti, valde intemperantes fuissent. Erant enim nobis perirati, quasi quidquam de nostra salute decrevissemus, quod non idem illis censuissemus: aut quasi utilius reipublicae fuerit, eos etiam ad bestiarum auxilium confugere, quam vel emori, vel cum spe, si non optima, at aliqua tamen vivere. 4. At in perturbata republica vivimus. Quis negat? Sed hoc viderint ii, qui nulla sibi subsidia ad omnes vitae status paraverunt. Huc enim ut venirem, superior longius, quam volui, fluxit oratio. Quum enim te semper magnum hominem duxi: tum, quod his tempestatibus es prope solus in portu, fructusque doctrinae percipis eos, qui maximi sunt, ut ea consideres eaque tractes, quorum et usus et delectatio est omnibus istorum et actis et voluptatibus anteponenda. Equidem hos tuos Tusculanenses dies instar esse vitae puto, libenterque omnibus omnes opes concesserim, ut mihi liceat, vi nulla interpellante, isto modo vivere. 5. Quod nos quoque imitamur, ut possumus, et in nostris studiis libentissime conquiescimus. Quis enim hoc non dederit nobis, ut, quum opera nostra patria sive non possit uti, sive nolit, ad eam vitam revertamur, quam multi docti homines, fortasse non recte, sed tamen multi etiam reipublicae praeponendam putaverunt? Quae igitur studia, magnorum hominum sententia, vacationem habent etiam publici muneris, iis concedente republica cur non abutamur? 6. Sed plus facio, quam Caninius mandavit. Is enim, si quid ego scirem, rogarat, quod tu nescires: ego tibi ea narro, quae tu melius scis, quam ipse, qui narro. Faciam ergo illud, quod rogatus sum, ut eorum, quae temporis huius sint, quae tua interesse videro, ne quid ignores. (*Ad Div.* IX. vi.)

## EPISTOLA LXXI.

(Romae, A.U.C. 708.)

### CICERO VARRONI.

1. Caenabam apud Seium, quum utrique nostrum redditae sunt a te litterae. Mihi vero iam maturum videtur. Nam, quod antea calumniatus sum, indicabo malitiam meam. Volebam prope alicubi esse te, si quid bonae salutis, σύν τε δύ' ἐρχομένω. Nunc, quum confecta sunt omnia, dubitandum non est, quin equis viris. Nam ut audivi de L. Caesare F. mecum ipse: *quid hic mihi faciet patri?* Itaque non desino apud istos, qui nunc dominantur, caenitare. Quid faciam? tempori serviendum est. 2. Sed ridicula missa; praesertim quum sit nihil, quod rideamus.

*Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu.*

Itaque nullum est ἀποπροηγμένον, quod non verear. Sed quod quaeris, quando, qua, quo, nihil adhuc scimus. Istuc ipsum de Baiis, nonnulli dubitant, an per Sardiniam veniat. Illud enim adhuc praedium suum non inspexit: nec ullum habet deterius, sed tamen non contemnit. Ego omnino magis arbitror per Siciliam: vel iam sciemus. Adventat enim Dolabella. Eum puto magistrum fore.

Πολλοὶ μαθηταὶ κρείττονες διδασκάλων.

Sed tamen, si sciam, quid tu constitueris, meum consilium accommodabo potissimum ad tuum. Quare exspecto tuas litteras. (*Ad Div.* IX. vii.)

## EPISTOLA LXXII.

(In Tusculano A.U.C. 708.)

### CICERO PAPIRIO PAETO S.

1. Delectarunt me tuae litterae, in quibus primum amavi amorem tuum, qui te ad scribendum incitavit verentem, ne Silius suo nuntio aliquid mihi sollicitudinis attulisset: de quo et tu mihi antea scripseras, bis quidem eodem exemplo, facile ut intelligerem te esse commotum; et ego tibi accurate rescripseram, ut quoquo modo in tali re atque tempore aut

liberarem te ista cura aut certe levarem. 2. Sed quoniam proximis quoque litteris ostendis, quantae tibi curae sit ea res; sic, mi Paete, habeto: quidquid arte fieri potuerit, (non enim iam satis est consilio pugnare: artificium quoddam excogitandum est:) sed tamen quidquid elaborari aut effici potuerit ad istorum benevolentiam conciliandam et colligendam, summo studio me consecutum esse: nec frustra, ut arbitror. Sic enim color, sic observor ab omnibus iis, qui a Caesare diliguntur, ut ab iis me amari putem. Etsi non facile diiudicatur amor verus et fictus, nisi aliquod incidat eiusmodi tempus, ut, quasi aurum igni, sic benevolentia fidelis periculo aliquo perspici possit. Cetera sunt signa communia: sed ego uno utor argumento, quamobrem me ex animo vereque arbitrer diligi, quia et nostra fortuna ea est et illorum, ut simulandi caussa non sit. 3. De illo autem, quem penes est omnis potestas, nihil video, quod timeam: nisi quod omnia sunt incerta, quum a iure discessum est: nec praestari quidquam potest, quale futurum sit, quod positum est in alterius voluntate, ne dicam libidine. Sed tamen eius ipsius nulla re a me offensus est animus. Est enim adhibita in ea re ipsa summa a nobis moderatio. Ut enim olim arbitrabar, esse meum libere loqui, cuius opera esset in civitate libertas: sic, ea nunc amissa, nihil loqui, quod offendat aut illius aut eorum, qui ab illo diliguntur, voluntatem. Effugere autem si vellem nonnullorum acute aut facete dictorum offensionem, fama ingenii mihi esset abiicienda: quod si possem, non recusarem. 4. Sed tamen ipse Caesar habet peracre iudicium; et, ut Servius, frater tuus, quem litteratissimum fuisse iudico, facile diceret, *hic versus Plauti non est, hic est,* quod tritas aures haberet notandis generibus poetarum et consuetudine legendi: sic audio Caesarem, quum volumina iam confecerit ἀποφθεγμάτων, si quod afferatur ad eum pro meo, quod meum non sit, reiicere solere; quod eo nunc magis facit, quia vivunt mecum fere quotidie illius familiares. Incidunt autem in sermone vario multa, quae fortasse, illis quum dixi, nec illitterata nec insulsa esse videantur. Haec ad illum cum reliquis actis perferuntur: ita enim ipse mandavit. Sic fit, ut, si quid praeterea de me audiat, non audiendum putet. Quamobrem Oenomao tuo nihil utor: etsi posuisti loco versus Accianos. 5. Sed quae est invidia? aut quid mihi

nunc invideri potest? Verum fac esse omnia. Sic video philosophis placuisse iis, qui mihi soli videntur vim virtutis tenere, nihil esse sapientis praestare, nisi culpam; quae mihi videor dupliciter carere: et quod ea senserim, quae rectissima fuerunt, et quia, quum viderem praesidii non satis esse ad ea obtinenda, viribus certandum cum valentioribus non putarim. Ergo in officio boni civis certe non sum reprehendendus. Reliquum est, ne quid stulte, ne quid temere dicam aut faciam contra potentes: id quoque puto esse sapientis. Cetera vero, quid quisque me dixisse dicat, aut quomodo ille accipiat aut qua fide mecum vivant ii, qui me assidue colunt et observant, praestare non possum. 6. Ita fit, ut et consiliorum superiorum conscientia et praesentis temporis moderatione me consoler, et illam Accii similitudinem non iam ad invidiam, sed ad fortunam transferam, quam existimo levem et imbecillam ab animo firmo et gravi tamquam fluctum a saxo frangi oportere. Etenim quum plena sint monumenta Graecorum, quemadmodum sapientissimi viri regna tulerint vel Athenis vel Syracusis; quum, servientibus suis civitatibus, fuerint ipsi quodammodo liberi: ego me non putem tueri meum statum sic posse, ut neque offendam animum cuiusquam, nec frangam dignitatem meam? 7. Nunc venio ad iocationes tuas, quoniam tu secundum Oenomaum Accii, non, ut olim solebat, Atellanam, sed, ut nunc fit, mimum introduxisti. Quem tu mihi pompilum, quem thynnarium narras? quam tyrotarichi patinam? Facilitate mea ista ferebantur antea: nunc mutata res est. Hirtium ego et Dolabellam dicendi discipulos habeo, caenandi magistros. Puto enim, te audisse, si forte ad vos omnia perferuntur, illos apud me declamitare, me apud eos caenitare. Tu autem quod mihi bonam copiam eiures, nihil est; tum enim, quum rem habebas, quaesticulis te ferebam attentiorem: nunc, quum tam aequo animo bona perdas, non eo sis consilio, ut, quum me hospitio recipias, aestimationem te aliquam putes accipere; etiam haec levior est plaga ab amico, quam a debitore. 8. Nec tamen eas caenas quaero, ut magnae reliquiae fiant: quod erit, magnificum sit et lautum. Memini te mihi Phameae caenam narrare. Temperius fiat, cetera eodem modo. Quod si perseveras me ad matris tuae caenam revocare, feram id quoque. Volo enim videre animum, qui mihi audeat ista, quae scribis,

apponere, aut etiam polypum Miniani Iovis similem. Mihi crede, non audebis. Ante meum adventum fama ad te de mea nova lautitia veniet: eam extimesces. Neque est, quod in promulside spei ponas aliquid; quam totam sustuli. Solebam enim antea debilitari oleis et lucanicis tuis. 9. Sed quid haec loquimur? Liceat modo isto venire. Tu vero (volo enim abstergere animi tui metum) ad tyrotarichum antiquum redi. Ego tibi unum sumptum afferam, quod balneum calfacias oportebit: cetera more nostro; superiora illa lusimus. 10. De villa Seliciana et curasti diligenter et scripsisti facetissime. Itaque puto me praetermissurum. Salis enim satis est, sannionum parum. Vale. (*Ad Div.* IX. xvi.)

## EPISTOLA LXXIII.

(Romae, A.U.C. 708.)

### CICERO PAETO.

1. Dupliciter delectatus sum tuis litteris, et quod ipse risi, et quod te intellexi iam posse ridere. Me autem a te, ut scurram velitem, malis oneratum esse non moleste tuli. Illud doleo, in ista loca venire me, ut constitueram, non potuisse. Habuisses enim non hospitem, sed contubernalem. At quem virum! non eum, quem tu es solitus promulside conficere. Integram famem ad ovum affero. Itaque usque ad assum vitulinum opera perducitur. Illa mea, quae solebas antea laudare, o hominem facilem! o hospitem non gravem! abierunt. Nunc omnem nostram de republica curam, cogitationem de dicenda in senatu sententia, commentationem caussarum abiecimus. In Epicuri nos adversarii nostri castra coniecimus; nec tamen ad hanc insolentiam, sed ad illam tuam lautitiam, veterem dico, quum in sumptum habebas. Etsi numquam plura praedia habuisti. 2. Proinde te para: cum homine et edaci tibi res est, et qui iam aliquid intelligat: ὀψιμαθεῖς autem homines scis quam insolentes sint. Dediscendae tibi sunt sportellae et artolagani tui. Nos iam artis tantum habemus, ut Verrium tuum et Camillum, qua munditia homines! qua elegantia! vocare saepius audeamus. Sed vide audaciam: etiam Hirtio coenam dedi sine pavone; tamen in ea coena coquus meus praeter ius

fervens nihil potuit imitari. 3. Haec igitur est nunc vita nostra. Mane salutamus domi et bonos viros multos, sed tristes, et hos laetos victores: qui me quidem perofficiose et peramanter observant. Ubi salutatio defluxit, litteris me involvo, aut scribo aut lego. Veniunt etiam, qui me audiant quasi doctum hominem, quia paullo sum, quam ipsi, doctior. Inde corpori omne tempus datur. Patriam eluxi iam et gravius et diutius, quam ulla mater unicum filium. Sed cura, si me amas, ut valeas: ne ego, te iacente, bona tua comedim. Statui enim tibi ne aegroto quidem parcere. (*Ad Div.* IX. xx.)

## EPISTOLA LXXIV.

(Romae, A.U.C. 708.)

## M. T. C. S. D. M. MARCELLO.

1. Etsi eo te adhuc consilio usum intelligo, ut id reprehendere non audeam, non quin ab eo ipse dissentiam, sed quod ea te sapientia esse iudicem, ut meum consilium non anteponam tuo: tamen et amicitiae nostrae vetustas, et tua summa erga me benevolentia, quae mihi iam a pueritia tua cognita est, me hortata est, ut ea scriberem ad te, quae et saluti tuae conducere arbitrarer, et non aliena esse ducerem a dignitate. 2. Ego eum te esse, qui horum malorum initia multo ante videris, consulatum magnificentissime atque optime gesseris, praeclare memini: sed idem etiam illa vidi, neque te consilium civilis belli ita gerendi, neque copias Cn. Pompeii nec genus exercitus probare semperque summe diffidere. Qua in sententia me quoque fuisse, memoria tenere te arbitror. Itaque neque tu multum interfuisti rebus gerendis, et ego id semper egi, ne interessem. Non enim iis rebus pugnabamus, quibus valere poteramus, consilio, auctoritate, caussa, quae erant in nobis superiora, sed lacertis et viribus, quibus pares non eramus. Victi sumus igitur, aut, si vinci dignitas non potest, fracti certe et abiecti. In quo tuum consilium nemo potest non maxime laudare, quod cum spe vincendi simul abiecisti certandi etiam cupiditatem, ostendistique sapientem et bonum civem initia belli civilis invitum suscipere, extrema libenter non persequi. 3. Qui non idem consilium, quod tu, secuti sunt, eos video in duo genera esse

distractos. Aut enim renovare bellum conati sunt, hique se in Africam contulerunt: aut, quemadmodum nos, victori sese crediderunt. Medium quoddam tuum consilium fuit, qui hoc fortasse humilis animi duceres, illud pertinacis. Fateor, a plerisque, vel dicam ab omnibus, sapiens tuum consilium, a multis etiam magni ac fortis animi iudicatum. Sed habet ista ratio, ut mihi quidem videtur, quemdam modum: praesertim quum tibi nihil deesse arbitrer ad tuas fortunas omnes obtinendas praeter voluntatem. Sic enim intellexi, nihil aliud esse, quod dubitationem afferret ei, penes quem est potestas, nisi quod vereretur, ne tu illud beneficium omnino non putares. De quo quid sentiam, nihil attinet dicere: quum appareat, ipse quid fecerim. 4. Sed tametsi iam ita constituisses, ut abesse perpetuo malles, quam ea, quae nolles, videre: tamen id cogitare deberes, ubicumque esses, te fore in eius ipsius, quem fugeres, potestate. Qui si facile passurus esset te, carentem patria et fortunis tuis, quiete et libere vivere: cogitandum tibi tamen esset, Romaene et domi tuae, cuicuimodi res esset, an Mitylenis aut Rhodi malles vivere. Sed quum ita late pateat eius potestas, quem veremur, ut terrarum orbem complexa sit: nonne mavis sine periculo tuae domi esse, quam cum periculo alienae? Equidem, etiamsi oppetenda mors esset, domi atque in patria mallem, quam in externis atque alienis locis. Hoc idem omnes, qui te diligunt, sentiunt: quorum est magna pro tuis maximis clarissimisque virtutibus multitudo. 5. Habemus etiam rationem rei familiaris tuae, quam dissipari nolumus. Nam etsi nullam potest accipere iniuriam, quae futura perpetua sit: propterea, quod neque is, qui tenet rempublicam, patietur, neque ipsa respublica; tamen impetum praedonum in tuas fortunas fieri nolo. Hi autem qui essent, auderem scribere, nisi te intelligere confiderem. 6. Hic te unius sollicitudines, unius etiam multae et assiduae lacrimae C. Marcelli, fratris optimi, deprecantur: nos cura et dolore proximi sumus: precibus tardiores, quod ius adeundi, quum ipsi deprecatione eguerimus, non habemus. Gratia tantum possumus, quantum victi: sed tamen consilio, studio Marcello non desumus. A tuis reliquis non adhibemur; ad omnia parati sumus. Vale. (*Ad Div.* IV. vii.)

## EPISTOLA LXXV.

(Romae, A.U.C. 708.)

## M. T. C. S. D. SER. SULPICIO.

1. Accipio excusationem tuam, qua usus es, cur saepius ad me litteras uno exemplo dedisses: sed accipio ex ea parte, quatenus aut negligentia, aut improbitate eorum, qui epistolas accipiant, fieri scribis, ne ad nos perferantur: illam partem excusationis, qua te scribis *orationis paupertate* (sic enim appellas) iisdem verbis epistolas saepius mittere, nec nosco nec probo. Et ego ipse, quem tu per iocum (sic enim accipio) *divitias orationis* habere dicis, me non esse verborum admodum inopem agnosco; εἰρωνεύεσθαι enim non necesse est: sed tamen idem (nec hoc εἰρωνευόμενος) facile cedo tuorum scriptorum subtilitati et elegantiae. 2. Consilium tuum, quo te usum scribis hoc Achaicum negotium non recusavisse, quum semper probavissem, tum multo magis probavi, lectis tuis proximis litteris. Omnes enim caussae, quas commemoras, iustissimae sunt tuaque et auctoritate et prudentia dignissimae. Quod aliter cecidisse rem existimas, atque opinatus sis, id tibi nullo modo assentior. Sed quia tanta perturbatio et confusio est rerum, ita perculsa et prostrata foedissimo bello iacent omnia, ut is cuique locus, ubi ipse sit, et sibi quisque miserrimus esse videatur, propterea et tui te consilii poenitet, et nos, qui domi sumus, tibi beati videmur: at contra nobis, non tu quidem vacuus molestiis, sed prae nobis beatus. Atque hoc ipso melior est tua, quam nostra, conditio, quod tu, quid doleat, scribere audes, nos ne id quidem tuto possumus: nec id victoris vitio, quo nihil moderatius, sed ipsius victoriae, quae civilibus bellis semper est insolens. 3. Uno te vicimus, quod de Marcelli, collegae tui, salute paullo ante, quam tu, cognovimus; etiam mehercule, quod, quemadmodum ea res ageretur, vidimus. Nam sic fac existimes: post has miserias, id est, postquam armis disceptari coeptum sit de iure publico, nihil esse actum aliud cum dignitate. Nam et ipse Caesar, accusata acerbitate Marcelli, (sic enim appellabat,) laudataque honorificentissime et aequitate tua et prudentia, repente praeter spem dixit, *se senatui roganti de Marcello ne hominis quidem caussa negaturum.* Fecerat autem hoc senatus, ut, quum a L. Pisone mentio

esset facta de Marcello, et quum C. Marcellus se ad Caesaris pedes abiecisset, cunctus consurgeret et ad Caesarem supplex accederet. Noli quaerere: ita mihi pulcher hic dies visus est, ut speciem aliquam viderer videre quasi reviviscentis reipublicae. 4. Itaque quum omnes ante me rogati gratias Caesari egissent praeter Volcatium: is enim, si eo loco esset, negavit se facturum fuisse: ego rogatus mutavi meum consilium. Nam statueram, non mehercule inertia, sed desiderio pristinae dignitatis, in perpetuum tacere. Fregit hoc meum consilium et Caesaris magnitudo animi et senatus officium. Itaque pluribus verbis egi Caesari gratias: meque metuo ne etiam in ceteris rebus honesto otio privarim, quod erat unum solatium in malis. Sed tamen, quoniam effugi eius offensionem, qui fortasse arbitraretur, me hanc rempublicam non putare, si perpetuo tacerem: modice hoc faciam, aut etiam intra modum, ut et illius voluntati et meis studiis serviam. Nam etsi a prima aetate me omnis ars et doctrina liberalis, et maxime philosophia delectavit; tamen hoc studium quotidie ita ingravescit, credo et aetatis maturitate ad prudentiam, et his temporum vitiis, ut nulla res alia levare animum molestiis possit. 5. A quo studio te abduci negotiis intelligo ex tuis litteris: sed tamen aliquid iam noctes te adiuvabunt. Servius tuus, vel potius noster, summa me observantia colit: cuius ego quum omni probitate summaque virtute, tum studiis doctrinaque delector. Is mecum saepe de tua mansione aut decessione communicat. Adhuc in hac sum sententia, nihil ut faciamus, nisi quod maxime Caesar velle videatur. Res sunt eiusmodi, ut, si Romae sis, nihil praeter tuos delectare te possit. De reliquis, nihil melius ipso est; ceteri et cetera eiusmodi, ut, si alterutrum necesse sit, audire ea malis, quam videre. Hoc nostrum consilium nobis minime iucundum est, qui te videre cupimus; sed consulimus tibi. Vale. (*Ad Div.* IV. iv.)

## EPISTOLA LXXVI.

(Romae, A.U.C. 708.)

### M. T. C. S. D. A. CAECINAE.

1. Vereor ne desideres officium meum; quod tibi pro nostra et meritorum multorum et studiorum et partium coniunctione deesse non debet: sed tamen vereor, ne litterarum

a me officium requiras; quas tibi et iam pridem et saepe misissem, nisi, quotidie melius exspectans, gratulationem quam confirmationem animi tui complecti litteris maluissem. Nunc, ut spero, brevi gratulabimur. Itaque in aliud tempus id argumentum epistolae differo. 2. His autem litteris animum tuum, quem minime imbecillem esse et audio et spero, etsi non sapientissimi, at amicissimi hominis auctoritate confirmandum etiam atque etiam puto: nec iis quidem verbis, quibus te consoler ut afflictum et iam omni spe salutis orbatum, sed ut eum, de cuius incolumitate non plus dubitem, quam te memini dubitare de mea. Nam quum me ex republica expulissent ii, qui illam cadere posse, stante me, non putarant: memini, me ex multis hospitibus, qui ad me ex Asia, in qua tu eras, venerant, audire, te de glorioso et celeri reditu meo confirmare. 3. Si te ratio quaedam Etruscae disciplinae, quam a patre, nobilissimo atque optimo viro, acceperas, non fefellit, ne nos quidem nostra divinatio fallet; quam quum sapientissimorum virorum monumentis atque praeceptis plurimoque, ut tu scis, doctrinae studio, tum magno etiam usu tractandae reipublicae magnaque nostrorum temporum varietate consecuti sumus. 4. Cui quidem divinationi hoc plus confidimus, quod ea nos nihil in his tam obscuris rebus tamque perturbatis umquam omnino fefellit. Dicerem, quae ante futura dixissem, ni vererer, ne ex eventis fingere viderer. Sed tamen plurimi sunt testes, me et initio, ne coniungeret se cum Caesare, monuisse Pompeium, et postea, ne seiungeret. Coniunctione frangi senatus opes, disiunctione civile bellum excitari videbam. Atque utebar familiarissime Caesare: Pompeium faciebam plurimi: sed erat meum consilium quum fidele Pompeio, tum salutare utrique. 5. Quae praeterea providerim, praetereo. Nolo enim hunc de me optime meritum existimare, ea me suasisse Pompeio, quibus ille si paruisset, esset hic quidem clarus in toga et princeps, sed tantas opes, quantas nunc habet, non haberet. Eundum in Hispaniam censui: quod si fecisset, civile bellum nullum omnino fuisset. Rationem haberi absentis, non tam pugnavi, ut liceret, quam ut, quando ipso consule pugnante populus iusserat, haberetur. Caussa orta belli est. Quid ego praetermisi aut monitorum aut querelarum, quum vel iniquissimam pacem iustissimo bello anteferrem! 6. Victa est auctoritas mea, non tam a Pompeio, (nam is movebatur,) quam ib iis,

qui duce Pompeio freti peropportunam et rebus domesticis et cupiditatibus suis illius belli victoriam fore putabant. Susceptum bellum est quiescente me: depulsum ex Italia manente me, quoad potui. Sed valuit apud me plus pudor meus, quam timor. Veritus sum deesse Pompeii saluti, quum ille aliquando non defuisset meae. Itaque vel officio vel fama bonorum vel pudore victus, ut in fabulis Amphiaraus, sic ego, prudens et sciens,

*ad péstem ante oculos pósitam*

sum profectus. Quo in bello nihil adversi accidit non praedicente me. 7. Quare, quoniam, ut augures et astrologi solent, ego quoque augur publicus ex meis superioribus praedictis constitui apud te auctoritatem augurii et divinationis meae, debebit habere fidem nostra praedictio. Non igitur ex alitis volatu nec e cantu sinistro oscinis, ut in nostra disciplina est, nec ex tripudiis solistimis aut soniviis tibi auguror: sed habeo alia signa, quae observem; quae etsi non sunt certiora illis, minus tamen habent vel obscuritatis vel erroris. 8. Notantur autem mihi ad divinandum signa duplici quadam via: quarum alteram duco a Caesare ipso, alteram e temporum civilium natura atque ratione. In Caesare haec sunt: mitis clemensque natura, qualis exprimitur praeclaro illo libro *Querelarum* tuarum. Accedit, quod mirifice ingeniis excellentibus, quale est tuum, delectatur. Praeterea cedit multorum iustis precibus, et officio incensis, non inanibus aut ambitiosis voluntatibus. In quo vehementer eum consentiens Etruria movebit. 9. Cur haec igitur adhuc parum profecerunt? Qui non putat se sustinere caussas posse multorum, si tibi, cui iustius videtur irasci posse, concesserit. Quae est igitur, inquies, spes ab irato? Eodem fonte se hausturum intelligit laudes suas, e quo sit leviter aspersus. Postremo homo valde est acutus et multum providens: intelligit te, hominem in parte Italiae minime contemnenda facile omnium nobilissimum et in communi republica cuivis summorum tuae aetatis vel ingenio vel gratia vel fama populi Romani parem, non posse prohiberi republica diutius. Nolet hoc temporis potius esse aliquando beneficium, quam iam suum. 10. Dixi de Caesare: nunc dicam de temporum rerumque natura. Nemo est tam inimicus ei caussae, quam Pompeius animatus melius quam paratus susceperat, qui nos

malos cives dicere, aut homines improbos audeat. In quo admirari soleo gravitatem et iustitiam et sapientiam Caesaris. Numquam nisi honorificentissime Pompeium appellat. At in eius personam multa fecit asperius: Armorum ista et victoriae sunt facta, non Caesaris. At nos quemadmodum est complexus! Cassium sibi legavit; Brutum Galliae praefecit, Sulpicium Graeciae; Marcellum, cui maxime succensebat, cum summa illius dignitate restituit. 11. Quo igitur haec spectant? Rerum hoc natura et civilium temporum non patietur: reipublicae nec manens, nec mutata ratio feret primum, ut non in caussa pari eadem sit et conditio et fortuna omnium; deinde, ut in eam civitatem boni viri et boni cives nulla ignominia notati non revertantur, in quam tot nefariorum scelerum condemnati reverterunt. 12. Habes augurium meum, quo, si quid addubitarem, non potius uterer, quam illa cohortatione, qua facile fortem virum sustentarem: te, qui explorata victoria arma sumpsisses pro republica, (ita enim tum putabas:) non minus esse laudandum quam si propter incertos exitus eventusque bellorum posse accidere, ut vinceremur, putasses; nec decere te ad secundam fortunam bene paratum fuisse, adversam ferre nullo modo posse. Disputarem etiam, quanto solatio tibi conscientia tui facti, quantaeve delectationi in rebus adversis litterae esse deberent. Commemorarem non solum veterum, sed horum etiam recentium vel ducum, vel comitum tuorum gravissimos casus; etiam externos multos claros viros nominarem. Levat enim dolorem communis quasi legis et humanae conditionis recordatio. 13. Exponerem etiam, quemadmodum hic, et quanta in turba, quantaque in confusione rerum omnium viveremus. Necesse est enim minore desiderio perdita republica carere, quam bona. Sed hoc genere nihil opus est. Incolumem te cito, ut spero, vel potius, ut perspicio, videbimus. Interea tibi absenti, et huic, qui adest, imagini animi et corporis tui, constantissimo atque optimo filio tuo, studium, officium, operam, laborem meum iampridem et pollicitus sum et detuli: nunc hoc amplius, quod me amicissime quotidie magis Caesar amplectitur; familiares quidem eius, sicuti neminem. Apud quem quidquid valebo vel auctoritate vel gratia, valebo tibi. Tu cura, ut quum firmitudine te animi, tum etiam spe optima sustentes. (*Ad Div.* VI. vi.)

## EPISTOLA LXXVII.

(Romae, A.U.C. 708.)

## M. T. C. S. D. AMPIO.

1. Gratulor tibi, mi Balbe, vereque gratulor; nec sum tam stultus, ut te usura falsi gaudii frui velim, deinde frangi repente, atque ita cadere, ut nulla res ad aequitatem te animi possit postea extollere. Egi tuam caussam apertius, quam mea tempora ferebant. Vincebatur enim fortuna ipsa debilitatae gratiae nostrae tui caritate et meo perpetuo erga te amore, culto a te diligentissime. Omnia promissa, confirmata, certa et rata sunt, quae ad reditum et ad salutem tuam pertinent. Vidi, cognovi, interfui. 2. Etenim omnes Caesaris familiares satis opportune habeo implicatos consuetudine et benevolentia, sic, ut, quum ab illo discesserint, me habeant proximum. Hoc Pansa, Hirtius, Balbus, Oppius, Matius, Postumius plane ita faciunt, ut me unice diligant. Quod si mihi per me efficiendum fuisset, non me poeniteret pro ratione temporum ita esse molitum. Sed nihil est a me inservitum temporis caussa: veteres mihi necessitudines cum his omnibus intercedunt, quibuscum ego agere de te non destiti. Principem tamen habuimus Pansam, tui studiosissimum, mei cupidum, qui valeret apud illum non minus auctoritate, quam gratia. Cimber autem Tillius mihi plane satisfecit. Valent enim apud Caesarem non tam ambitiosae rogationes, quam necessariae: quas quia Cimber habebat, plus valuit, quam pro ullo alio valere potuisset. 3. Diploma statim non est datum; quod mirifica est improbitas in quibusdam, qui tulissent acerbius veniam tibi dari, quam illi appellant *tubam belli civilis*, multaque ita dicunt, quasi non gaudeant id bellum incidisse. Quare visum est occultius agendum, neque ullo modo divulgandum, de te iam esse perfectum. Sed id erit perbrevi, nec dubito, quin, legente te has litteras, confecta iam res futura sit. Pansa quidem mihi, gravis homo et certus, non solum confirmavit, verum etiam recepit, perceleriter se ablaturum diploma. Mihi tamen placuit haec ad te perscribi. Minus enim te firmum sermo Eppuleiae tuae lacrimaeque Ampiae declarabant, quam significant tuae litterae. Atque illae arbitrabantur, quum a te abessent ipsae, multo in graviore te cura futurum. Quare

magno opere putavi, angoris et doloris tui levandi caussa, pro certis ad te ea, quae essent certa, perscribi oportere. 4. Scis, me antea sic solitum esse scribere ad te, magis ut consolarer fortem virum atque sapientem, quam ut exploratam spem salutis ostenderem, nisi quam ab ipsa republica, quum hic ardor restinctus esset, sperari oportere censerem. Recordare tuas litteras, quibus et magnum animum mihi semper ostendisti, et ad omnes casus ferendos constantem ac paratum: quod ego non mirabar, quum recordarer, te et a primis temporibus aetatis in republica esse versatum, et tuos magistratus in ipsa discrimina incidisse salutis fortunarum que communium: et in hoc ipsum bellum esse ingressum, non solum, uti victor beatus, sed etiam, si ita accidisset, victus ut sapiens esses. 5. Deinde, quum studium tuum consumas in virorum fortium factis memoriae prodendis, considerare debes, nihil tibi esse committendum, quamobrem eorum, quos laudas, te non simillimum praebeas. Sed haec oratio magis esset apta ad illa tempora, quae iam effugisti; nunc vero tantum te para ad haec nobiscum ferenda, quibus ego si quam medicinam invenirem, tibi quoque eamdem traderem. Sed est unum doctrina perfugium ac litterae, quibus semper usi sumus: quae secundis rebus delectationem modo habere videbantur, nunc vero etiam salutem. Sed, ut ad initium revertar, cave dubites, quin omnia de salute ac reditu tuo perfecta sint. (*Ad Div.* VI. xii.)

## EPISTOLA LXXVIII.

(Romae, A.U.C. 709.)

### M. T. CICERO C. CASSIO S. P. D.

1. Præposteros habes tabellarios; etsi me quidem non offendunt: sed tamen, quum a me discedunt flagitant literas, quum ad me veniunt, nullas afferunt. Atque id ipsum facerent commodius, si mihi aliquid spatii ad scribendum darent: sed petasati veniunt: comites ad portam exspectare dicunt. Ergo ignosces: alteras habebis has breves: sed exspecta *πάντα περὶ πάντων*. Etsi quid ego me tibi purgo, quum tui ad me inanes veniant, ad te cum epistolis revertantur? 2. Nos hic (tamen ad te scribam aliquid) P. Sullam patrem mortuum habebamus. Alii a latronibus, alii

cruditate dicebant. Populus non curabat. Combustum enim esse constabat. Hoc tu pro sapientia tua feres aequo animo. Quamquam πρόσωπον πόλεως amisimus. Caesarem putabant moleste laturum, verentem, ne hasta refrixisset. Mindius Marcellus et Attius pigmentarius valde gaudebant se adversarium perdidisse. 3. De Hispania novi nihil: sed exspectatio valde magna: rumores tristiores, sed ἀδέσποτοι. Pansa noster paludatus a. d. III. Kalend. Ian. profectus est, ut quivis intelligere posset id, quod tu nuper dubitare coepisti, τὸ καλὸν δι' αὑτὸ αἱρετὸν esse. Nam quod multos miseriis levavit, et quod se in his malis hominem praebuit, mirabilis eum virorum bonorum benevolentia prosecuta est. 4. Tu quod adhuc Brundisii moratus es, valde probo et gaudeo: et mehercule puto te sapienter facturum, si ἀκενόσπουδος fueris. Nobis quidem, qui te amamus, erit gratum. Et, amabo te, quum dabis posthac aliquid domum litterarum, mei memineris. Ego numquam quemquam ad te, quum sciam, sine meis litteris ire patiar. (*Ad Div.* XV. xvii.)

## EPISTOLA LXXIX.

(Romae, A.U.C. 709.)

### M. T. C. S. D. TREBIANO.

1. Ego quanti te faciam semperque fecerim quantique me a te fieri intellexerim, sum mihi ipse testis. Nam et consilium tuum, vel casus potius, diutius in armis civilibus commorandi, semper mihi magno dolori fuit: et hic eventus, quod tardius, quam est aequum, et quam ego vellem, recuperas fortunam et dignitatem tuam, mihi non minori curae est, quam tibi semper fuerunt casus mei. Itaque et Postumuleno et Sextio et saepissime Attico nostro proximeque Theudae, liberto tuo, totum me patefeci, et haec his singulis saepe dixi, quacumque re possem, me tibi et liberis tuis satisfacere cupere; idque tu ad tuos velim scribas, haec quidem certe, quae in potestate mea sunt, ut operam, consilium, rem, fidem meam sibi ad omnes res parata putent. 2. Si auctoritate et gratia tantum possem, quantum in ea republica, de qua ita meritus sum, posse deberem, tu quoque is esses, qui fuisti, quum omni gradu amplissimo dignis-

simus, tum certe ordinis tui facile princeps. Sed quoniam eodem tempore eademque de caussa nostrum uterque cecidit: tibi et illa polliceor, quae supra scripsi, quae sunt adhuc mea, et ea, quae praeterea videor mihi ex aliqua parte retinere, tamquam ex reliquiis pristinae dignitatis. Neque enim ipse Caesar, ut multis rebus intelligere potui, est alienus a nobis, et omnes fere familiarissimi eius, casu devincti magnis meis veteribus officiis, me diligenter observant et colunt. Itaque si qui mihi erit aditus de tuis fortunis, id est de tua incolumitate, in qua sunt omnia, agendi; quod quidem quotidie magis ex eorum sermonibus adducor ut sperem; agam per me ipse et moliar. 3. Singula persequi non est necesse. Universum studium meum et benevolentiam ad te defero. Sed magni mea interest hoc tuos omnes scire, quod tuis litteris fieri potest: ut intelligant, omnia Ciceronis patere Trebiano. Hoc eo pertinet, ut nihil existiment esse tam difficile, quod non pro te mihi susceptum iucundum sit futurum. (*Ad Div.* VI. x.)

## EPISTOLA LXXX.

(Asturae, A.U.C. 709.)

### M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CAESARI IMP.

1. Praecilium tibi commendo unice, tui necessarii, mei familiarissimi, viri optimi filium: quem quum adolescentem ipsum propter eius modestiam, humanitatem, animum et amorem erga me singularem mirifice diligo, tum patrem eius re doctus intellexi et didici mihi fuisse semper amicissimum. En, hic ille est, maxime qui irridère atque obiurgare me solitus est, quod me non tecum, praesertim quum abs te honorificentissime invitarer, coniungerem.

Ἀλλ' ἐμὸν οὔ ποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθεν.

Audiebam enim nostros proceres clamitantes,

Ἄλκιμος ἔσσ', ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀψιγόνων εὖ εἴπῃ.
Ὣς νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα.

2. Sed tamen iidem me consolantur: et iam hominem perustum inani gloria volunt incendere; atque ita loquuntur:

Μὴ μὰν ἀσπουδί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην,
ἀλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.

Sed minus iam movent, ut vides. Itaque ab Homeri magniloquentia confero me ad vera praecepta Εὐριπίδου·

μισῶ σοφιστὴν ὅςτις οὐχ αὑτῷ σοφός·

quem versum senex Praecilius laudat egregie, et ait, posse eumdem et ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσω videre, et tamen nihilominus

αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων.

Sed, ut redeam ad id, unde coepi: vehementer mihi gratum feceris, si hunc adolescentem humanitate tua, quae est singularis, comprehenderis, et ad id, quod ipsorum Praeciliorum caussa te velle arbitror, addideris cumulum commendationis meae. Genere novo sum litterarum ad te usus, ut intelligeres, non vulgarem esse commendationem. (*Ad Div.* XIII. xv.)

## EPISTOLA LXXXI.

(Asturae, 709.)

### M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CAESARI IMP.

1. P. Crassum ex omni nobilitate adolescentem dilexi plurimum: et de eo quum ab ineunte eius aetate bene speravissem, tum perbene existimare coepi, iis iudiciis, quae de eo feceras, cognitis. Eius libertum Apollonium iam tum equidem, quum ille viveret, et magni faciebam et probabam. Erat enim et studiosus Crassi, et ad eius optima studia vehementer aptus: itaque ab eo admodum diligebatur. 2. Post mortem autem Crassi eo mihi etiam dignior visus est, quem in fidem atque amicitiam meam reciperem, quod eos a se observandos et colendos putabat, quos ille dilexisset et quibus carus fuisset. Itaque et ad me in Ciliciam venit multisque in rebus mihi magno usui fuit et fides eius et prudentia; et, ut opinor, tibi in Alexandrino bello, quantum studio et fidelitate consequi potuit, non defuit. 3. Quod quum speraret te quoque ita existimare, in Hispaniam ad te, maxime ille quidem suo consilio, sed etiam me auctore est profectus. Cui ego commendationem non sum pollicitus; non quin eam valituram apud te arbitrarer: sed neque mihi egere commendatione videbatur, qui et in bello tecum fuisset, et propter memoriam Crassi de tuis unus esset, et, si uti commendationibus vellet, etiam per alios eum videbam id consequi posse. Testimonium mei de eo iudicii, quod et ipse magni aestimabat;

et ego apud te valere eram expertus, ei libenter dedi. 4. Doctum igitur hominem cognovi et studiis optimis deditum, idque a puero. Nam domi meae cum Diodoto Stoico, homine meo iudicio eruditissimo, multum a puero fuit. Nunc autem, incensus studio rerum tuarum, eas litteris Graecis mandare cupit. Posse arbitror: valet ingenio: habet usum: iam pridem in eo genere studii litterarumque versatur: satisfacere immortalitati laudum tuarum mirabiliter cupit. Habes opinionis meae testimonium: sed tu hoc facilius multo, pro tua singulari prudentia, iudicabis. Et tamen, quod negaveram, commendo tibi eum. Quidquid ei commodaveris, erit id maiorem in modum gratum. (*Ad Div.* XIII. xvi.)

## EPISTOLA LXXXII.

(Athenis, A.U.C. 709.)

### SER. SULPICIUS S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Etsi scio non iucundissimum nuntium me vobis allaturum, tamen, quoniam casus et natura in nobis dominatur, visum est faciendum, quoquo modo res se haberet, vos certiores facere. A. d. x. Kal. Iun. quum ab Epidauro Piraeeum navi advectus essem, ibi Marcellum, collegam nostrum, conveni, eumque diem ibi consumpsi, ut cum eo essem Postero die quum ab eo digressus essem eo consilio, ut ab Athenis in Boeotiam irem, reliquamque iurisdictionem absolverem, ille, ut aiebat, ὑπὲρ Μαλέας in Italiam versus navigaturus erat. 2. Post diem tertium eius diei, quum ab Athenis proficisci in animo haberem, circiter hora decima noctis P. Postumius, familiaris eius, ad me venit et mihi nuntiavit M. Marcellum, collegam nostrum, post coenae tempus a P. Magio Chilone, familiare eius, pugione percussum esse et duo vulnera accepisse, unum in stomacho, alterum in capite secundum aurem; sperare tamen se, eum vivere posse; Magium seipsum interfecisse, postea se a Marcello ad me missum esse, qui haec nuntiaret et rogaret, uti medicos cogerem. Coegi et e vestigio eo sum profectus prima luce. Quum non longe a Piraeeo abessem, puer Acidini obviam mihi venit cum codicillis, in quibus erat scriptum paullo ante lucem Marcellum diem suum obiisse. Ita vir clarrissimus ab homine taeterrimo acerbissima morte est affectus; et, cui inimici propter digni-

tatem pepercerant, inventus est amicus, qui mortem afferret. 3. Ego tamen ad tabernaculum eius perrexi. Inveni duos libertos et pauculos servos; reliquos aiebant profugisse, metu perterritos, quod dominus eorum ante tabernaculum interfectus esset. Coactus sum in eadem illa lectica, qua ipse delatus eram, meisque lecticariis in Urbem eum referre; ibique pro ea copia, quae Athenis erat, funus ei satis amplum faciendum curavi. Ab Atheniensibus, locum sepulturae intra Urbem ut darent, impetrare non potui, quod religione se impediri dicerent; neque tamen id antea cuiquam concesserant. Quod proximum fuit, uti, in quo vellemus gymnasio, eum sepeliremus, nobis permiserunt. Nos in nobilissimo orbis terrarum gymnasio Academiae locum delegimus, ibique eum combussimus, posteaque curavimus, ut iidem Athenienses in eodem loco monumentum ei marmoreum faciendum locarent. Ita, quae nostra officia fuerunt, pro collegio et propinquitate, et vivo et mortuo omnia ei praestitimus. Vale. D. pr. Kal. Iun. Athenis. (*Ad Div.* IV. xii.)

## EPISTOLA LXXXIII.

(In Tusculano, A.U.C. 709.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Hortos quoniam hodie eras inspecturus, quid visum tibi sit, cras scilicet. De Faberio autem, quum venerit. 2. De epistola ad Caesarem, iurato mihi crede, non possum; nec me turpitudo deterret, etsi maxime debebat. Quam enim turpis est assentatio, quum vivere ipsum turpe sit nobis? Sed ut coepi, non me hoc turpe deterret. Ac vellem quidem: (essem enim, qui esse debebam:) sed in mentem nihil venit. Nam, quae sunt ad Alexandrum hominum eloquentium et doctorum suasiones, vides, quibus in rebus versentur. Adolescentem, incensum cupiditate verissimae gloriae, cupientem sibi aliquid consilii dari, quod ad laudem sempiternam valeret, cohortantur. Ad decus non deest oratio. Ego quid possum? Tamen nescio quid e quercu exsculpseram, quod videretur simile simulacri. In eo quia nonnulla erant paullo meliora, quam ea, quae fiunt et facta sunt, reprehenduntur; quod me minime poenitet. Si enim pervenissent istae litterae, mihi crede, nos poeniteret. 3. Quid? tu non vides ipsum

illum Aristoteli discipulum, summo ingenio, summa modestia, posteaquam rex appellatus sit, superbum, crudelem, immoderatum fuisse? Quid? tu hunc de pompa, Quirini contubernalem, his nostris moderatis epistolis laetaturum putas? Ille vero potius non scripta desideret, quam scripta non probet. Postremo, ut volet. Abiit illud, quod tum me stimulabat, quod tibi dabam πρόβλημα Ἀρχιμήδειον. Multo mehercule magis nunc opto casum illum, quem tum timebam, vel quem libebit. Nisi quid te aliud impediet, mihi optato veneris. Nicias a Dolabella magno opere arcessitus, (legi enim litteras,) etsi invito me, tamen eodem me auctore profectus est. Hoc manu mea. (*Ad Att.* XIII. xxviii.)

## EPISTOLA LXXXIV.

(In Puteolano, Fabio, A.U.C. 709.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. O hospitem tam gravem! mihi ἀμεταμέλητον: fuit enim periucunde. Sed quum secundis Saturnalibus ad Philippum vesperi venisset, villa ita completa militibus est, ut vix triclinium, ubi caenaturus ipse Caesar esset, vacaret: quippe hominum CIↃ CIↃ. Sane sum commotus, quid futurum esset postridie: ac mihi Barba Cassius subvenit: custodes dedit. Castra in agro: villa defensa est. Ille tertiis Saturnalibus apud Philippum ad horam VII.; nec quemquam admisit. Rationes opinor cum Balbo: inde ambulavit in littore. Post horam VIII. in balneum: tum audivit de Mamurra: vultum non mutavit: unctus est; accubuit; ἐμετικὴν agebat. Itaque et edit et bibit ἀδεῶς et iucunde: opipare sane et apparate: nec id solum,

*——— sed bene cocto, et*
*condito sermone bono, et, si quaeris, libenter.*

2. Praeterea tribus tricliniis accepti οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν valde copiose. Libertis minus lautis, servisque nihil defuit. Nam lautiores eleganter accepti. Quid multa? homines visi sumus. Hospes tamen non is, cui diceres, amabo te, eodem ad me eum revertere. Semel satis est. Σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν in sermone: φιλόλογα multa. Quid quaeris? Delectatus est, et libenter fuit. Puteolis se aiebat unum diem fore, alterum ad Baias. Habes hospitium, sive ἐπισταθμίαν odiosam, mihi, dixi, non

molestam. Ego paullisper hic, deinde in Tusculanum. Dolabellae villam quum praeteriret, omnis armatorum copia, dextra sinistra ad equum, nec usquam alibi. Hoc ex Nicia. (*Ad Att.* XIII. lii.)

## EPISTOLA LXXXV.

(Romae, A.U.C. 710.)

### CICERO S. D. CURIO.

1. Ego vero iam te nec hortor nec rogo, ut domum redeas: quin hinc ipse evolare cupio et aliquo pervenire,

——— *ubi nec Pélopidarum nómen nec facta aúdiam.*

Incredible est, quam turpiter mihi facere videar, qui his rebus intersim. Nae tu videris multo ante providisse, quid impenderet tum, quum hinc profugisti. Quamquam haec etiam auditu acerba sunt, tamen audire tolerabilius est, quam videre. In campo certe non fuisti, quum H. II. comitiis quaestoriis institutis, sella Q. Maximi, quem illi consulem esse dicebant, posita esset: quo mortuo nuntiato, sella sublata est. Ille autem, qui comitiis tributis esset auspicatus, centuriata habuit: consulem H. VII. renuntiavit, qui usque ad Kalendas Ian. esset: quae erant futurae mane postridie. Ita, Caninio consule, scito neminem prandisse. Nihil tamen eo consule mali factum est. Fuit enim mirifica vigilantia, qui suo toto consulatu somnum non viderit. 2. Haec tibi ridicula videntur. Non enim ades: quae si videres, lacrimas non teneres. Quid, si cetera scribam? Sunt enim innumerabilia generis eiusdem: quae quidem ego non ferrem, nisi me in philosophiae portum contulissem et nisi haberem socium studiorum meorum Atticum nostrum; cuius quando proprium et esse scribis mancipio et nexu, meum autem usu et fructu, contentus isto sum. Id enim est cuiusque proprium, quo quisque fruitur atque utitur. Sed haec alias pluribus. 3. Acilius, qui in Graeciam cum legionibus missus est, maximo meo beneficio est; bis enim est a me iudicio capitis, rebus salvis, defensus, et est homo non ingratus meque vehementer observat. Ad eum de te diligentissime scripsi, eamque epistolam cum hac coniunxi: quam ille quomodo acceperit et quid tibi pollicitus sit, velim ad me scribas. (*Ad Div.* VII. xxx.)

## EPISTOLA LXXXVI.

(In Puteolano, A.U.C. 710.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Itane vero? Hoc meus et tuus Brutus egit, ut Lanuvii esset? ut Trebonius itineribus deviis proficisceretur in provinciam? ut omnia facta, scripta, dicta, promissa, cogitata Caesaris plus valerent, quam si ipse viveret? Meministine me clamare, illo ipso primo Capitolino die, senatum in Capitolium a praetoribus vocari? Dii immortales! quae tum opera effici potuerunt, laetantibus omnibus bonis, etiam sat bonis, fractis latronibus! Liberalia tu accusas. Quid fieri tum potuit? Iam pridem perieramus. Meministine te clamare, caussam periisse, si funere elatus esset? At ille etiam in foro combustus laudatusque miserabiliter; servique et egentes in tecta nostra cum facibus immissi. Quae deinde? ut audeant dicere, *tune contra Caesaris nutum?* Haec et alia ferre non possum. Itaque γῆν πρὸ γῆς cogito. Tua tamen ὑπηνέμιος. 2. Nausea iamne plane abiit? Mihi quidem ex tuis litteris coniectanti ita videbatur. Redeo ad Tebassos, Scaevas, Frangones. Hos tu existimas confidere se illa habituros, stantibus nobis? in quibus plus virtutis putarunt, quam experti sunt. Pacis isti scilicet amatores, et non latrocinii auctores? At ego quum tibi de Curtilio scripsi Sextilianoque fundo, scripsi de Censorino, de Mustela, de Planco, de Postumio, de genere toto. Melius fuit periisse illo interfecto, (quod utinam accidisset!) quam haec videre. 3. Octavius Neapolim venit XIV. Kal. Ibi eum Balbus mane postridie; eodemque die mecum in Cumano, illum hereditatem aditurum. Sed, ut scribis, ῥοιζόθεμιν magnam cum Antonio. Buthrotia mihi tua res est, ut debet, eritque curae. Quod quaeris, iamne ad centena Cluvianum: adventare videtur: sed primo anno LXXX. detersimus. 4. Q. pater ad me gravia de filio, maxime quod matri nunc indulgeat, cui antea bene merenti fuerit inimicus. Ardentes in eum litteras ad me misit. Ille autem quid agat, si scis, neque dum Roma es profectus, scribas ad me velim; et hercule, si quid aliud. Vehementer delector tuis litteris. (*Ad Att.* XIV. x.)

## EPISTOLA LXXXVII.

(Puteolis, A.U.C. 710.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. O mi Attice, vereor, ne nobis Idus Mart. nihil dederint praeter laetitiam et odii poenam ac doloris. Quae mihi istinc afferuntur! quae hic video! Ὦ πράξεως καλῆς μὲν, ἀτελοῦς δέ. Scis, quam diligam Siculos, et quam illam clientelam honestam iudicem. Multa illis Caesar, neque me invito: etsi Latinitas erat non ferenda; verumtamen—. Ecce autem Antonius, accepta grandi pecunia, fixit legem, a dictatore comitiis latam, qua Siculi cives Romani: cuius rei, vivo illo, mentio nulla. Quid? Deiotari nostri caussa non similis? Dignus ille quidem omni regno, sed non per Fulviam. Sexcenta similia. Verum illuc referor: tam claram, tamque testatam rem, tamque iustam, Buthrotiam, non tenebimus aliqua ex parte? et eo quidem magis, quo iste plura? 2. Nobiscum hic perhonorifice et amice Octavius: quem quidem sui Caesarem salutabant, Philippus non: itaque ne nos quidem: quem nego posse bonum civem: ita multi circumstant, qui quidem nostris mortem minitantur. Negant haec ferri posse. Quid censes, quum Romam puer venerit, ubi nostri liberatores tuti esse non possunt? qui quidem semper erunt clari: conscientia vero facti sui etiam beati. Sed nos, nisi me fallit, iacebimus. Itaque exire aveo,

*ubi nec Pelopidarum* ———

inquit. Haud amo vel hos designatos, qui etiam declamare me coegerunt; ut ne apud aquas quidem acquiescere liceret. Sed hoc meae nimiae facilitatis. Nam id erat quondam quasi necesse; nunc, quoquo modo se res habet, non est item. 3. Quam dudum nihil habeo, quod ad te scribam! scribo tamen, non ut delectem his litteris, sed ut eliciam tuas. Tu, si quid erit de ceteris; de Bruto utique, quidquid. Haec conscripsi x. Kal., accubans apud Vestorium, hominem remotum a dialecticis, in arithmeticis satis exercitatum. (*Ad Att.* XIV. xii.)

## EPISTOLA LXXXVIII.

(Puteolis, A.U.C. 710.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Septimo denique die litterae mihi redditae sunt, quae erant a te XIII. Kal. datae: quibus quaeris, atque etiam me ipsum nescire arbitraris, utrum magis tumulis prospectuque, an ambulatione ἀλιτενεῖ delecter. Est mehercule, ut dicis, utriusque loci tanta amoenitas, ut dubitem, utra anteponenda sit.

*ἀλλ' οὐ δαιτὸς ἐπηράτου ἔργα μέμηλεν,*
*ἀλλὰ λίην μέγα πῆμα, διοτρεφὲς, εἰσορόωντες*
*δείδμεν· ἐν δοιῇ δὲ, σαωσέμεν, ἢ ἀπολέσθαι.*

2. Quamvis enim tu magna et mihi iucunda scripseris de D. Bruti adventu ad suas legiones, in quo spem maximam video: tamen, si est bellum civile futurum, quod certe erit si Sextus in armis permanebit, quem permansurum esse certo scio, quid nobis faciendum ignoro. Neque enim iam licebit, quod Caesaris bello licuit, neque huc, neque illuc. Quemcumque enim haec pars perditorum laetatum morte Caesaris putabit, (laetitiam autem apertissime tulimus omnes,) hunc in hostium numero habebit: quae res ad caedem maximam spectat. Restat, ut in castra Sexti aut, si forte, Bruti nos conferamus. Res odiosa et aliena nostris aetatibus, et incerto exitu belli: et nescio, quo pacto tibi ego possim, mihi tu dicere,

*Τέκνον ἐμὸν, οὔ τοι δέδοται πολεμήϊα ἔργα,*
*ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἱμερόεντα μετέρχεο ἔργα λόγοιο.*

3. Sed haec fors viderit, ea, quae talibus in rebus plus quam ratio potest. Nos autem id videamus, quod in nobis ipsis esse debet, ut, quidquid acciderit, fortiter et sapienter feramus, et accidisse hominibus meminerimus; nosque quum multum litterae, tum non minimum Idus quoque Mart. consolentur. 4. Suscipe nunc meam deliberationem, qua sollicitor: ita multa veniunt in mentem in utramque partem. Proficiscor, ut constitueram, legatus in Graeciam? Caedis impendentis periculum nonnihil vitare videor, sed casurus in aliquam vituperationem, quod reipublicae defuerim tam gravi tempore. Sin autem mansero; fore me quidem video in discrimine, sed accidere posse suspicor, ut prodesse possim

reipublicae. Iam illa consilia privata sunt, quod sentio valde esse utile ad confirmationem Ciceronis, me illuc venire: nec alia caussa profectionis mihi ulla fuit tum, quum consilium cepi legari ab Caesare. Tota igitur hac de re, ut soles, si quid ad me pertinere putas, cogitabis. 5. Redeo nunc ad epistolam tuam. Scribis enim esse rumores, me, ad lacum quod habeo, venditurum, minusculam vero villam utique Quinto traditurum, vel impenso pretio, quo introducatur, ut tibi Quintus filius dixerit, dotata Aquillia. Ego vero de venditione nihil cogito, nisi quid, quod magis me delectet, invenero. Quintus autem de emendo nihil curat hoc tempore. Satis enim torquetur debitione dotis: in qua mirificas Egnatio gratias agit. A ducenda autem uxore sic abhorret, ut libero lectulo neget esse quidquam iucundius. 6. Sed haec quoque hactenus. Redeo enim ad miseram, seu nullam potius rempublicam. M. Antonius ad me scripsit de restitutione Sex. Clodii: quam honorifice, quod ad me attinet, ex ipsius litteris cognosces; (misi enim tibi exemplum:) quam dissolute, quam turpiter, quamque ita perniciose, ut nonnumquam Caesar desiderandus esse videatur, facile existimabis. Quae enim Caesar numquam neque fecisset, neque passus esset, ea nunc ex falsis eius commentariis proferuntur. Ego autem Antonio facillimum me praebui. Etenim ille, quoniam semel induxit animum, sibi licere quod vellet, fecisset nihilo minus me invito. Itaque mearum quoque litterarum misi tibi exemplum.

---

## ANTONIUS CONSUL S. D. M. CICERONI.

1. Occupationibus est factum meis, et subita tua profectione, ne tecum coram de hac re agerem. Quam ob caussam vereor, ne absentia mea levior sit apud te. Quod si bonitas tua responderit iudicio meo, quod semper habui de te, gaudebo. 2. A Caesare petii, ut Sex. Clodium restitueret; impetravi. Erat mihi in animo etiam tum, sic uti beneficio eius, si tu concessisses. Quo magis laboro, ut tua voluntate id per me facere nunc liceat. Quod si duriorem te eius miserae et afflictae fortunae praebes; non contendam ego adversus te. Quamquam videor debere tueri commentarium Caesaris. Sed mehercule, si humaniter et sapienter et ama-

biliter in me cogitare vis, facilem profecto te praebebis: et voles P. Clodium, in optima spe puerum repositum, existimare, non te insectatum esse, quum potueris, amicos paternos. 3. Patere, obsecro te, pro republica videri gessisse simultatem cum patre eius. Non contempseris hanc familiam. Honestius enim et libentius deponimus inimicitias reipublicae nomine susceptas, quam contumaciae. Me deinde sine ad hanc opinionem iam nunc dirigere puerum, et tenero animo eius persuadere, non esse tradendas posteris inimicitias. Quamquam tuam fortunam, Cicero, ab omni periculo abesse, certum habeo: tamen arbitror, malle te quietam senectutem et honorificam potius agere, quam sollicitam. Postremo meo iure te hoc beneficium rogo. Nihil enim non tua caussa feci. Quod si non impetro, per me Clodio daturus non sum: ut intelligas, quanti apud me auctoritas tua sit, atque eo te placabiliorem praebeas.

---

## CICERO ANTONIO COS. S.

1. Quod mecum per litteras agis, unam ob caussam mallem coram egisses. Non enim solum ex oratione, sed etiam ex vultu et oculis et fronte (ut aiunt) meum erga te amorem perspicere potuisses. Nam quum te semper amavi, primum tuo studio, post etiam beneficio provocatus; tum his temporibus respublica te mihi ita commendavit, ut cariorem habeam neminem. 2. Litterae vero tuae, quum amantissime tum honorificentissime scriptae, sic me affecerunt, ut non dare tibi beneficium viderer, sed accipere a te, ita petente, ut inimicum meum, necessarium tuum, me invito servare nolles, quum id nullo negotio facere posses. 3. Ego vero tibi istuc, mi Antoni, remitto; atque ita, ut me a te, quum his verbis scripseris, liberalissime atque honorificentissime tractatum existimem; idque quum totum, quoquo modo se res haberet, tibi dandum putarem, tum do etiam humanitati et naturae meae. Nihil enim umquam non modo acerbum in me fuit, sed ne paullo quidem tristius aut severius, quam necessitas reipublicae postulavit. Accedit, ut ne in ipsum quidem Clodium meum insigne odium fuerit umquam; semperque ita statui, non esse insectandos inimicorum amicos, praesertim humiliores; nec his praesidiis nosmet ipsos esse spoliandos. 4. Nam

de puero Clodio tuas partes esse arbitror, ut eius animum tenerum, quemadmodum scribis, iis opinionibus imbuas, ut ne quas inimicitias residere in familiis nostris arbitretur. Contendi cum P. Clodio, quum ego publicam caussam, ille suam defenderet. Nostras concertationes respublica diiudicavit. Si viveret, mihi cum illo nulla contentio iam maneret. 5. Quare, quoniam hoc a me sic petis, ut, quae tua potestas est, ea neges te me invito usurum, puero quoque hoc a me dabis, si tibi videbitur: non quo aut aetas nostra ab illius aetate quidquam debeat periculi suspicari, aut dignitas mea ullam contentionem extimescat, sed ut nosmet ipsi inter nos coniunctiores simus, quam adhuc fuimus. Interpellantibus enim his inimicitiis, animus tuus mihi magis patuit, quam domus. Sed haec hactenus. Illud extremum; ego, quae te velle, quaeque ad te pertinere arbitrabor, semper sine ulla dubitatione summo studio faciam. Hoc velim tibi penitus persuadeas. (*Ad Att.* XIV. xiii.)

## EPISTOLA LXXXIX.

(In Puteolano, A.U.C. 710.)

## CICERO ATTICO S.

1. *Iteradum eadem ista mihi!*

Coronatus Quintus noster Parilibus? Parilibus. Solusne? Solus; etsi addis Lamiam: quod demiror equidem; sed scire cupio, qui fuerint alii: quamquam satis scio, nisi improbum, neminem. Explanabis igitur hoc diligentius. Ego autem casu quum dedissem ad te litteras VI. Kalend. satis multis verbis, tribus fere horis post accepi tuas, et magni quidem ponderis. Itaque ioca tua plena facetiarum, de haeresi Vestoriana et de Pherionum more Puteolano, risisse me satis, nihil est necesse scribere. Πολιτικώτερα illa videamus. 2. Ita Brutos Cassiumque defendis, quasi eos ego reprehendam: quos satis laudare non possum. Rerum ego vitia collegi, non hominum. Sublato enim tyranno, tyrannida manere video. Nam quae ille facturus non fuit, ea fiunt, ut de Clodio; de quo mihi exploratum est, illum non modo non facturum, sed etiam ne passurum quidem fuisse. Sequetur Rufio Vestorianus, Victor numquam scriptus; ceteri; quis non? Cui servire ipsi non potuimus, eius libellis paremus. Nam Liber-

alibus quis potuit in senatum non venire? Fac id potuisse aliquo modo: num, etiam quum venissemus, libere potuimus sententiam dicere? Nonne omni ratione veterani, qui armati aderant, quum praesidii nos nihil haberemus, defendendi fuerunt? Illam sessionem Capitolinam mihi non placuisse, tu testis es. Quid ergo? ista culpa Brutorum? Minime illorum quidem; sed aliorum brutorum; qui se cautos ac sapientes putant; quibus satis fuit laetari; nonnullis, etiam gratulari: nullis, permanere. 3. Sed praeterita omittamus: istos omni cura praesidioque tueamur; et, quemadmodum tu praecipis, contenti Idibus Mart. simus: quae quidem nostris amicis, divinis viris, aditum ad caelum dederunt, libertatem populo Romano non dederunt. Recordare tua: nonne meministi clamare te, omnia periisse, si ille funere elatus esset? Sapienter id quidem. Itaque ex eo quae manarint, vides. 4. Quae scribis Kalendis Iuniis Antonium de provinciis relaturum, ut et ipse Gallias habeat, et utrisque dies prorogetur: licebitne decerni libere? Si licuerit, libertatem esse recuperatam laetabor: si non licuerit, quid mihi attulerit ista domini mutatio praeter laetitiam, quam oculis cepi iusto interitu tyranni? 5. Rapinas scribis ad Opis fieri: quas nos quoque tum videbamus. Nae nos et liberati ab egregiis viris, nec liberi sumus. Ita laus illorum est, culpa nostra. Et hortaris me, ut historias scribam? ut colligam tanta eorum scelera, a quibus etiam nunc obsidemur? Poterone eos ipsos non laudare, qui te obsignatorem adhibuerunt? Nec mehercule me raudusculum movet: sed homines benevolos, qualescumque sunt, grave est insequi contumelia. 6. Sed de omnibus meis consiliis, ut scribis, existimo exploratius nos ad Kalendas Iunias statuere posse: ad quas adero; et omni ope atque opera enitar, adiuvante me scilicet auctoritate tua et gratia et summa aequitate caussae, ut de Buthrotiis senatus consultum, quale scribis, fiat. Quod me cogitare iubes, cogitabo equidem: etsi tibi dederam superiore epistola cogitandum. Tu autem, quasi iam recuperata republica, vicinis tuis Massiliensibus sua reddis. Haec armis, quae quam firma habeamus ignoro, restitui fortasse possunt; auctoritate non possunt. (*Ad Att.* XIV. xiv.)

## EPISTOLA XC.

(In Pompeiano, A.U.C. 710.)

### CICERO DOLABELLAE CONSULI S.

1. Etsi contentus eram, mi Dolabella, tua gloria, satisque ex ea magnam laetitiam voluptatemque capiebam: tamen non possum non confiteri, cumulari me maximo gaudio, quod vulgo hominum opinio socium me ascribat tuis laudibus. Neminem conveni, (convenio autem quotidie plurimos: sunt enim permulti optimi viri, qui valetudinis caussa in haec loca veniant, praeterea ex municipiis frequentes necessarii mei:) quin omnes, quum te summis laudibus ad caelum extulerunt, mihi continuo maximas gratias agant. Negant enim se dubitare, quin tu, meis praeceptis et consiliis obtemperans, praestantissimum te civem et singularem consulem praebeas. 2. Quibus ego, quamquam verissime possum respondere, te, quae facias, tuo iudicio et tua sponte facere, nec cuiusquam egere consilio: tamen neque plane assentior, ne imminuam tuam laudem, si omnis a meis consiliis profecta videatur, neque valde nego. Sum enim avidior etiam, quam satis est, gloriae. Et tamen non alienum est dignitate tua, quod ipsi Agamemnoni, regum regi, fuit honestum, habere aliquem in consiliis capiundis Nestorem; mihi vero gloriosum, te iuvenem consulem florere laudibus, quasi alumnum disciplinae meae. 3. L. quidem Caesar, quum ad eum aegrotum Neapolim venissem, quamquam erat oppressus totius corporis doloribus, tamen ante, quam me plane salutavit: "O mi Cicero," inquit, "gratulor tibi, quum tantum vales apud Dolabellam, quantum "si ego apud sororis filium valerem, iam salvi esse possemus. "Dolabellae vero tuo et gratulor et gratias ago; quem quidem "post te consulem solum possumus vere consulem dicere." Deinde multa de facto ac de re gesta; tum nihil magnificentius, nihil praeclarius actum umquam, nihil reipublicae salutarius. Atque haec una vox omnium est. 4. A te autem peto, ut me hanc quasi falsam hereditatem alienae gloriae sinas cernere, meque aliqua ex parte in societatem tuarum laudum venire patiare. Quamquam, mi Dolabella, haec enim iocatus sum, libentius omnes meas, si modo sunt aliquae meae, laudes ad te transfuderim, quam aliquam partem exhauserim ex

tuis. Nam quum te semper tantum dilexerim, quantum tu intelligere potuisti, tum his tuis factis sic incensus sum, ut nihil umquam in amore fuerit ardentius. Nihil est enim, mihi crede, virtute formosius, nihil pulchrius, nihil amabilius. 5. Semper amavi, ut scis, M. Brutum propter eius summum ingenium, suavissimos mores, singularem probitatem atque constantiam. Tamen Idib. Martiis tantum accessit ad amorem, ut mirarer, locum fuisse augendi in eo, quod mihi iampridem cumulatum etiam videbatur. Quis erat, qui putaret, ad eum amorem, quem erga te habebam, posse aliquid accedere? Tantum accessit, ut mihi nunc denique amare videar, antea dilexisse. 6. Quare quid est, quod ego te horter, ut dignitati et gloriae servias? proponam tibi claros viros? quod facere solent qui hortantur. Neminem habeo clariorem, quam te ipsum. Te imitare oportet: tecum ipse certes. Ne licet quidem tibi iam tantis rebus gestis non tui similem esse. 7. Quod quum ita sit, hortatio non est necessaria; gratulatione magis utendum est. Contigit enim tibi, quod haud scio an nemini, ut summa severitas animadversionis non modo non invidiosa, sed etiam popularis esset, et quum bonis omnibus, tum infimo cuique gratissima. Hoc si tibi fortuna quadam contigisset, gratularer felicitati tuae: sed contigit magnitudine quum animi, tum etiam ingenii atque consilii. Legi enim concionem tuam. Nihil illa sapientius. Ita pedetentim et gradatim tum accessus a te ad caussam facti, tum recessus, ut res ipsa maturitatem tibi animadvertendi omnium concessu daret. 8. Liberasti igitur et Urbem periculo, et civitatem metu: neque solum ad tempus maximam utilitatem attulisti, sed etiam ad exemplum. Quo facto intelligere debes, in te positam esse rempublicam, tibique non modo tuendos, sed etiam ornandos esse illos viros, a quibus initium libertatis profectum est. Sed his de rebus coram plura propediem, ut spero. Tu quando rempublicam nosque conservas, fac ut diligentissime te ipsum, mi Dolabella, custodias. (*Ad Div.* IX. xiv.)

## EPISTOLA XCI.

(In Sinuessano, A.U.C. 710.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Quinto decimo Kalend. e Sinuessano proficiscens, quum dedissem ad te litteras, devertissemque a Cumis, in Vescino accepi a tabellario tuas litteras; in quibus nimis multa de Buthroto. Non enim tibi ea res maiori curae aut est aut erit, quam mihi. Sic enim decet, te mea curare, tua me. Quamobrem id quidem sic susceptum est mihi, ut nihil sim habiturus antiquius. 2. L. Antonium concionatum esse, cognovi tuis litteris et aliis, sordide: sed, id quale fuerit, nescio: nihil enim scripsisti. De Menedemo, probe. Quintus certe ea dictitat, quae scribis. Consilium meum a te probari, quod ea non scribam, quae tu a me postularis, facile patior; multoque magis id probabis, si orationem eam, de qua hodie ad te scripsi, legeris. Quae de legionibus scribis, ea vera sunt. Sed non satis hoc mihi videris tibi persuasisse, quid de Buthrotiis nostris per senatum speres; confici posse puto. Quantum enim video, nos videmur esse victuri. Sed, si etiam nos hoc fallat, de Buthroto te non fallet. 3. De Octavii concione idem sentio, quod tu: ludorumque eius apparatus et Matius ac Postumius mihi procuratores non placent. Saserna collega dignus. Sed isti omnes, quemadmodum sentis, non minus otium timent, quam nos arma. Balbum levari invidia per nos velim; sed ne ipse quidem id fieri posse confidit. Itaque alia cogitat. 4. Quod prima disputatio Tusculana te confirmat, sane gaudeo. Neque enim ullum est perfugium aut melius, aut paratius. Flamma quod bene loquitur, non moleste fero. Tyndaritanorum caussa, de qua laboras, quae sit ignoro. Hos tamen—. Πεντέλοιπον movere ista videntur, in primis erogatio pecuniae. De Alexione doleo; sed, quoniam inciderat in ita gravem morbum, bene actum cum illo arbitror. Quos tamen secundos heredes, scire vellem, et diem testamenti. (*Ad Att.* XV. ii.)

## EPISTOLA XCII.

(Lanuvii, A.U.C. 710.)

### BRUTUS ET CASSIUS PRAETT. M. ANTONIO COS.

1. De tua fide et benevolentia in nos nisi persuasum esset nobis, non conscripsissemus haec tibi: quae profecto, quando istum animum habes, in optimam partem accipies. Scribitur nobis, magnam veteranorum multitudinem Romam convenisse iam, et ad Kalendas Iunias futuram multo maiorem. De te si dubitemus aut vereamur, simus nostri dissimiles. Sed certe, quum ipsi in tua potestate fuerimus, tuoque adducti consilio dimiserimus ex municipiis nostros necessarios, neque solum edicto, sed etiam litteris id fecerimus: digni sumus, quos habeas tui consilii participes, in ea praesertim re, quae ad nos pertinet. 2. Quare petimus a te, facias nos certiores tuae voluntatis in nos: putesne nos tutos fore in tanta frequentia militum veteranorum, quos etiam de reponenda ara cogitare audimus; quod velle et probare vix quisquam posse videtur, qui nos salvos et honestos velit. Nos ab initio spectasse otium nec quidquam aliud libertate communi quaesisse, exitus declarat. Fallere nemo nos potest, nisi tu; quod certe abest ab tua virtute et fide: sed alius nemo facultatem habet decipiendi nos: tibi enim uni credidimus et credituri sumus. 3. Maximo de nobis timore afficiuntur amici nostri; quibus etsi tua fides explorata est, tamen illud in mentem venit, multitudinem veteranorum facilius impelli ab alio quolibet, quam a te retineri posse. Rescribas nobis ad omnia rogamus. Nam illud valde leve est ac nugatorium, ea re denuntiatum esse veteranis, quod de commodis eorum mense Iunio laturus esses. Quem enim impedimento futurum putas, quum de nobis certum sit, nos quieturos? Non debemus cuiquam videri nimium cupidi vitae, quum accidere nobis nihil possit sine pernicie et confusione omnium rerum. (*Ad Div.* XI. ii.)

## EPISTOLA XCIII.

(In Antiati, A.U.C. 710.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Antium veni ante VI. Idus. Bruto iucundus noster adventus. Deinde multis audientibus, Servilia, Tertulla, Porcia

quaerere, quid placeret. Aderat etiam Favonius. Ego, quod eram meditatus in via, suadere, ut uteretur Asiatica curatione frumenti: nihil esse iam reliqui, quod ageremus, nisi ut salvus esset: in eo etiam ipsi reipublicae esse praesidium. Quam orationem quum ingressus essem, Cassius intervenit; ego eadem illa repetivi. Hoc loco, fortibus sane oculis Cassius, (Martem spirare diceres,) 'se in Siciliam non iturum. Egone, ut beneficium accepisse in contumeliam?' Quid ergo agis? inquam. At ille, 'in Achaiam se iturum.' Quid tu, inquam, Brute? 'Romam, inquit, si tibi videtur.' Mihi vero minime: tuto enim non eris. 'Quid? si possem esse, placeretne?' Atque ut omnino, neque nunc, neque ex praetura in provinciam ires. Sed auctor non sum, ut te Urbi committas. Dicebam ea, quae tibi profecto in mentem veniunt, cur non esset tuto futurus. 2. Multo inde sermone querebantur, atque id quidem Cassius maxime, amissas occasiones, Decimumque graviter accusabat. Ego negabam oportere praeterita: assentiebar tamen. Quumque ingressus essem dicere, quid opportuisset, (nec vero quidquam novi, sed ea, quae quotidie omnes,) nec tamen illum locum attingerem, quemquam praeterea oportuisse tangi, sed senatum vocari, populum ardentem studio vehementius incitari, totam susciperem rempublicam: exclamat tua familiaris: *hoc vero neminem umquam audivi.* Ego repressi. Sed et Cassius mihi videbatur iturus: (etenim Servilia pollicebatur se curaturam, ut illa frumenti curatio de senatus consulto tolleretur:) et noster cito deiectus est de illo inani sermone. Velle enim se dixerat. Constituit igitur, ut ludi, absente se, fierent suo nomine. Proficisci autem mihi in Asiam videbatur ab Antio velle. 3. Ne multa; nihil me in illo itinere praeter conscientiam delectavit. Non enim fuit committendum, ut ille ex Italia prius, quam a me conventus esset, discederet. Hoc dempto munere amoris atque officii, sequebatur, ut mecum ipse:

Ἠ δεῦρ' ὁδός σοι τί δύναται νῦν θεοπρόπε;

Prorsus dissolutum offendi navigium, vel potius dissipatum. Nihil consilio, nihil ratione, nihil ordine. Itaque etsi ne antea quidem dubitavi, tamen nunc eo minus, evolare hinc; idque quam primum, ubi

*nec Pélopidarum fácta, neque famam aúdiam.*

4. Sed heus tu, ne forte sis nescius, Dolabella me sibi legavit a. d. IV. Nonas. Id mihi heri vesperi nuntiatum est. Votiva ne tibi quidem placebat. Etenim erat absurdum, quae, si stetisset respublica, vovissem, ea me, eversa illa, vota dissolvere: et habent, opinor, liberae legationes definitum tempus lege Iulia, nec facile addi potest. Aveo genus legationis, ut, quum velis, introire, exire liceat: quod nunc mihi additum est. Bella est autem huius iuris quinquennii licentia. Quanquam quid de quinquennio cogitem? Contrahi mihi negotium videtur. Sed βλάσφημα mittamus. (*Ad Att.* XV. xi.)

## EPISTOLA XCIV.

(In Tusculano, A.U.C. 710.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Egi gratias Vecteno: nihil enim potuit humanius. Dolabellae mandata sint quaelibet: mihi aliquid, vel quod Niciae nuntiem. Quis enim haec, ut scribis, λεπτύνει? Nunc dubitare quemquam prudentem, quin meus discessus desperationis sit, non legationis? 2. Quod ais, extrema quaedam iam homines de republica loqui, et eos quidem viros bonos: ego, quo die audivi illum tyrannum in concione CLARISSIMUM VIRUM appellari, subdiffidere coepi; postea vero quam tecum Lanuvii vidi, nostros tantum spei habere ad vivendum, quantum accepissent ab Antonio, desperavi. Itaque, mi Attice, fortiter hoc velim accipias, ut ego scribo. Genus illud interitus, qui caussae cursus est, foedum duco et quasi denuntiatum nobis ab Antonio. Ex hac naxa exire constitui, non ad fugam, sed ad spem mortis melioris. Haec omnis culpa Bruti. 3. Pompeium Carteiae receptum scribis: iam igitur contra hunc exercitum. Utra ergo castra? Media enim tollit Antonius. Illa infirma, haec nefaria. Properemus igitur. Sed iuva me consilio, Brundisione, an Puteolis. Brutus quidem subito: sed sapienter. Πάσχω τι. Quando enim illum? Sed humana ferenda. Tu ipse eum videre non potes. Dii illi mortuo, qui umquam Buthrotum. Sed acta missa. Videamus, quae agenda sint. 4. Rationes Erotis, etsi ipsum nondum vidi, tamen et ex litteris eius, et ex eo, quod Tiro cognovit, propemodum cognitas habeo. Versuram scribis esse faciendam mensium quinque; id est, ad Kal.

Novemb. H-S cc. In eam diem cadere nummos, qui a Quinto debentur. Velim igitur, quoniam Tiro negat tibi placere, me eius rei caussa Romam venire; si ea te res nihil offendet, videas, unde nummi sint; mihi feras expensum. Hoc video in praesentia opus esse. Reliqua diligentius ex hoc ipso exquiram; in his, de mercedibus dotalium praediorum; quae si fideliter Ciceroni curabuntur, quamquam volo laxius, tamen ei propemodum nihil deerit. Equidem video mihi quoque opus esse viaticum. Sed ei ex praediis, ut cadet, ita solvetur: mihi autem opus est universo quidem. Etsi mihi videtur iste, qui umbras timet, ad caedem spectare; tamen, nisi explicata solutione, non sum discessurus. Sitne autem extricata, necne, tecum cognoscam. Hanc putavi mea manu scribendam: itaque feci. De Fadio, ut scribis: utique alii nemini. Rescribas velim hodie. (*Ad Att.* XV. xx.)

## EPISTOLA XCV.

(In Puteolano, A.U.C. 710.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Nonis Quint. veni in Puteolanum. Postridie iens ad Brutum in Nesidem haec scripsi. Sed eo die, quo veneram, caenanti Eros tuas litteras. Itane? Nonis Iuliis? Dii hercule istis! Sed stomachari totum diem licet. Quidquamne turpius, quam Bruto Iuliis? Redeo ad meum igitur, ἔτ' ἐῶμεν; Nihil vidi. 2. Sed quid est, quaeso, quod agripetas Buthroti concisos audio? Quid autem Plancus tam cursim (ita enim inaudiebam) diem et noctem? sane cupio scire quid sit. 3. Meam profectionem laudari gaudeo. Nimirum videndum est, ut mansio laudetur. Dymaeos, agro pulsos, mare infestum habere, nil mirum. Ἐν ὁμοπλοίᾳ Bruti videtur aliquid praesidii esse. Sed, opinor, minuta navigia. Sed iam sciam, et ad te cras. 4. De Ventidio, πανικόν puto. De Sexto, pro certo habebatur, haud arma. Quod si verum est; sine bello civili video serviendum. Quid ergo? Kal. Ian. in Pansa spes? Λῆρος πολύς, in vino et in somno istorum. 5. De ccx. optime Ciceronis rationes explicentur. Ovius enim recens: is multa, quae vellem: in his ne hoc quidem malum, H-S LXXII. satis esse, affatim prorsus; sed Xenonem perexigue, et γλίσχρως praebere. Quo plus permutasti,

quam ad fructum insularum, id ille annus habeat, in quem itineris sumptus accessit. Hinc ex Kal. April. ad H-S LXXX. accommodetur. Nunc enim insulae tantum. Videndum enim est, quid, quum Romae erit. Non enim puto socrum illam ferendam. Pindaro de Cumano negaram. 6. Nunc, cuius rei caussa tabellarium miserim, accipe. Q. filius mihi pollicetur se Catonem. Egit autem et pater et filius, ut tibi sponderem: sed ita, ut tum crederes, quum ipse cognosses. Huic ego litteras ipsius arbitratu dabo. Eae te ne moverint. Has scripsi in eam partem, ne me motum putares. Dii faxint, ut faciat ea, quae promittit! Commune enim gaudium. Sed ego nihil dico amplius. Is hinc VI. Idus. Ait enim, attributionem in Idus, se autem urgeri acriter. Tu ex meis litteris, quo modo respondeas, moderabere. Plura, quum et Brutum videro, et Erotem remittam. Atticae meae excusationem accipio, eamque amo plurimum; cui et Piliae salutem. (*Ad Att.* XVI. i.)

## EPISTOLA XCVI.

(In Puteolano, A.U.C. 710.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Sexto Idus duas epistolas accepi, unam a meo tabellario, alteram a Bruti. De Buthrotiis longe alia fama in his locis fuerat: sed cum aliis multis hoc ferendum. Erotem remisi citius quam constitueram, ut esset qui Hortensio: et quia equitibus quidem ait se Idibus constituisse. Hortensius vero impudenter. Nihil enim debetur ei, nisi ex tertia pensione, quae est Kal. Sext., ex qua pensione ipsa maior pars est ei soluta aliquanto ante diem. Sed haec Eros videbit Idibus. De Publilio autem, quod perscribi oportet, moram non puto esse faciendam. Sed quum videas, quantum de iure nostro decesserimus, qui de residuis CCCC. H-S CC. praesentia solverimus, reliqua rescribamus: loqui cum eo, si tibi videbitur, poteris, eum commodum nostrum exspectare debere, quum tanta sit a nobis iactura facta iuris. 2. Sed amabo te, mi Attice (videsne, quam blande?), omnia nostra, quoad eris Romae, ita gerito, regito, gubernato, ut nihil a me exspectes. Quamquam enim reliqua satis apta sunt ad solvendum; tamen fit saepe, ut ii, qui debent, non respondeant ad tempus. Si

quid eiusmodi acciderit, ne quid tibi sit fama mea potius. Non modo versura, verum etiam venditione, si ita res coget, nos vindicabis. 3. Bruto tuae litterae gratae erant. Fui enim apud illum multas horas in Neside, quum paullo ante tuas litteras accepissem. Delectari mihi Tereo videbatur et habere maiorem Accio, quam Antonio, gratiam. Mihi autem quo laetiora sunt, eo plus stomachi et molestiae est, populum Romanum manus suas non in defendenda republica, sed in plaudendo consumere. Mihi quidem videntur istorum animi incendi etiam ad repraesentandam improbitatem suam. Sed tamen,

*dúmmodo doleat áliquid, doleat quidlubet.*

4. Consilium meum quod ais quotidie magis laudari, non moleste fero; exspectabamque, si quid de eo ad me scriberes. Ego enim in varios sermones incidebam. Quin etiam idcirco trahebam, ut quam diutissime integrum esset. Sed quoniam furcilla extrudimur, Brundisium cogito. Facilior enim et exploratior devitatio legionum fore videtur, quam piratarum, qui apparere dicuntur. Sextius VI. Idus exspectabatur, sed non venerat, quod sciam. Cassius cum classicula sua venerat. Ego, quum eum vidissem, V. Id. in Pompeianum cogitabam, inde Aeculanum. Nosti reliqua. 5. De Tutia, ita putaram. De Aebutio, non credo: nec tamen curo plus quam tu. Planco et Oppio scripsi equidem, quoniam rogaras: sed, si tibi videbitur, ne necesse habueris reddere. Quum enim tua caussa fecerint omnia, vereor, ne meas litteras supervacaneas arbitrentur. Oppio quidem utique: quem tibi amicissimum cognovi. Verum, ut voles. 6. Tu, quoniam scribis hiematurum te in Epiro, feceris mihi gratum, si ante eo veneris, quam mihi in Italiam te auctore veniendum est. Litteras ad me quam saepissime; sed de rebus minus necessariis, aliquem nactus; sin autem erit quid maius, domo mittito. Ἡρακλείδειον, si Brundisium salvi, adoriemur. *De Gloria* misi tibi. Custodies igitur, ut soles: sed notentur eclogarii: quos Salvius, bonos auditores nactus, in convivio dumtaxat legat. Mihi valde placent: mallem tibi. Etiam atque etiam vale. (*Ad Att.* XVI. ii.)

## EPISTOLA XCVII.

(A.U.C. 710.)

### BRUTUS ET CASSIUS PRAETT. S. D. ANTONIO COS.

1. S. V. B. E. Litteras tuas legimus, simillimas edicti tui, contumeliosas, minaces, minime dignas, quae a te nobis mitterentur. Nos, Antoni, te nulla lacessiimus iniuria, neque miraturum credidimus, si praetores et ea dignitate homines aliquid edicto postulassemus a consule. Quod si indignaris ausos esse id facere: concede nobis, ut doleamus, ne hoc quidem abs te Bruto et Cassio tribui. 2. Nam de delectibus habitis et pecuniis imperatis, exercitibus sollicitatis et nuntiis trans mare missis, quod te questum esse negas; nos quidem tibi credimus, optimo animo te fecisse; sed tamen neque agnoscimus quidquam eorum, et te miramur, quum haec reticueris, non potuisse continere iracundiam tuam, quin nobis de morte Caesaris obiiceres. 3. Illud vero quemadmodum ferendum sit, tute cogita: non licere praetoribus concordiae ac libertatis caussa per edictum de suo iure decidere, quin consul arma minetur. Quorum fiducia nihil est, quod nos terreas. Neque enim decet aut convenit nobis periculo ulli submittere animum nostrum. Neque est Antonio postulandum, ut iis imperet, quorum opera liber est. Nos si alia hortarentur, ut bellum civile suscitare vellemus, litterae tuae nihil proficerent. Nulla enim minantis auctoritas apud liberos est. Sed pulchre intelligis, non posse nos quoquam impelli: et fortassis ea re minaciter agis, ut iudicium nostrum metus videatur. 4. Nos in hac sententia sumus, ut te cupiamus in libera republica magnum atque honestum esse, vocemus te ad nullas inimicitias, sed tamen pluris nostram libertatem quam tuam amicitiam aestimemus. Tu etiam atque etiam vide, quid suscipias, quid sustinere possis: neque, quam diu vixerit Caesar, sed quam non diu regnarit, fac cogites. Deos quaesumus, consilia tua reipublicae salutaria sint ac tibi; si minus, ut, salva atque honesta republica, tibi quam minimum noceant, optamus. Pridie Nonas Sext. (*Ad Div.* XI. iii.)

## EPISTOLA XCVIII.

(Navigans ad Pompeianum, A.U.C. 710.)

### CICERO ATTICO S.

Octavo Id. Sext. quum a Leucopetra profectus (inde enim tramittebam) stadia circiter CCC processissem, reiectus sum austro vehementi ad eamdem Leucopetram. Ibi quum ventum exspectarem, (erat enim villa Valerii nostri, ut familiariter essem et libenter:) Rhegini quidam, illustres homines, eo venerunt, Roma sane recentes, in iis Bruti nostri hospes, qui Brutum Neapoli reliquisset. Haec afferebant, edictum Bruti et Cassii; et fore frequentem senatum Kalendis: a Bruto et Cassio litteras missas ad consulares et praetorios: ut adessent, rogare. Summam spem nuntiabant: fore, ut Antonius cederet, res conveniret, nostri Romam redirent. Addebant etiam, me desiderari, subaccusari. Quae quum audissem, sine ulla dubitatione abieci consilium profectionis, quo mehercule ne antea quidem delectabar. 2. Lectis vero tuis litteris, admiratus equidem sum, te tam vehementer sententiam commutasse; sed non sine caussa, arbitrabar. Etsi, quamvis non fueris suasor et impulsor profectionis meae, approbator certe fuisti, dummodo Kal. Ian. Romae essem. Ita fiebat, ut, dum minus periculi videretur, abessem, in flammam ipsam venirem. Sed haec, etiamsi non prudenter, tamen ἀνεμέσητα sunt; primum, quod de mea sententia acta sunt; deinde, etiamsi te auctore, quid debet, qui consilium dat, praestare praeter fidem? 3. Illud admirari satis non potui, quod scripsisti his verbis: *Veni igitur, tu, qui εὐθανασίαν, veni. Relinques patriam?* An ego relinquebam aut tibi tum relinquere videbar? Tu id non modo prohibebas, verum etiam approbabas. Graviora, quae restant. *Velim σχόλιον aliquod elimes ad me, oportuisse te istuc facere.* Itane, mi Attice? defensione eget meum factum, praesertim apud te, qui id mirabiliter approbasti? Ego vero istum ἀπολογισμὸν συντάξομαι, sed ad eorum aliquem, quibus invitis et dissuadentibus profectus sum. Etsi quid iam opus est σχολίῳ? Si perseverassem, opus fuisset. At hoc ipsum non constanter. Nemo doctus umquam (multa autem de hoc genere scripta sunt) mutationem consilii inconstantiam dixit esse. 4. Deinceps igitur haec. *Nam si a Phaedro nostro, expedita excusatio esset. Nunc quid respondemus?* Ergo id erat

meum factum, quod Catoni probare non possem, flagitii scilicet plenum et dedecoris. Utinam a primo ita tibi esset visum! tu mihi, sicut esse soles, fuisses Cato. 5. Extremum illud vel molestissimum: *Nam Brutus noster silet:* hoc est, non audet hominem id aetatis monere. Aliud nihil habeo, quod ex iis a te verbis significari putem: et hercule ita est. Nam XVI. Kal. Sept. quum venissem Veliam, Brutus audivit. Erat enim cum suis navibus apud Haletem fluvium, citra Veliam millia passuum III. Pedibus ad me statim. Dii immortales, quam valde ille reditu, vel potius reversione mea laetatus, effudit illa omnia, quae tacuerat! ut recordarer illud tuum, *nam Brutus noster silet.* Maxime autem dolebat, me Kal. Sext. in senatu non fuisse. Pisonem ferebat in caelum: se autem laetari, quod effugissem duas maximas vituperationes: unam, quam itinere faciendo me intelligebam suscipere, desperationis ac relictionis reipublicae: flentes mecum vulgo querebantur, quibus de meo celeri reditu non probabam: alteram, de qua Brutus, et qui una erant, (multi autem erant,) laetabantur, quod eam vituperationem effugissem, me existimari ad Olympia. Hoc vero nihil turpius, quovis reipublicae tempore: sed hoc ἀναπολόγητον. Ego vero austro gratias miras, qui me a tanta infamia averterit. 6. Reversionis has speciosas caussas habes, iustas illas quidem et magnas, sed nulla iustior, quam quod tu idem aliis litteris: *provide, si cui quid debetur, ut sit, unde par pari respondeatur. Mirifica enim δυσχρηστία est propter metum armorum.* In freto medio hanc epistolam legi, ut, quid possem providere, in mentem mihi non veniret, nisi ut praesens me ipse defenderem. Sed haec hactenus. Reliqua coram. 7. Antonii edictum legi a Bruto, et horum contra, scriptum praeclare. Sed quid ista edicta valeant, aut quo spectent, plane non video: nec ego nunc, ut Brutus censebat, istuc ad rempublicam capessendam venio. Quid enim fieri potest? Num quis Pisoni est assensus? Num rediit ipse postridie? Sed abesse hanc aetatem longe a sepulcro negant oportere. 8. Sed obsecro te, quid est, quod audivi de Bruto? Piliam πειράζεσθαι παραλύσει, te scripsisse aiebat. Valde sum commotus: etsi idem, te scribere, sperare melius. Ita plane velim. Ei dicas plurimam salutem et suavissimae Atticae. Haec scripsi navigans, quum Pompeianum accederem XIV. Kal. (*Ad Att.* XVI. vii.)

## EPISTOLA XCIX.

(Romae, A.U.C. 710.)

## M. T. C. S. D. CORNIFICIO.

1. Omnem conditionem imperii tui statumque provinciae mihi demonstravit Stratorius. O multa intolerabilia locis omnibus! Sed quo tua maior dignitas, eo quae tibi acciderunt minus ferenda; neque enim, quae tu propter magnitudinem et animi et ingenii moderate fers, a te non ulciscenda sunt, etiamsi non sunt dolenda. Sed haec posterius. 2. Rerum urbanarum acta tibi mitti certo scio. Quod ni ita putarem, ipse perscriberem, in primisque Caesaris Octaviani conatum; de quo multitudini fictum ab Antonio crimen videtur, ut in pecuniam adolescentis impetum faceret. Prudentes autem et boni viri et credunt factum et probant. Quid quaeris? magna spes est in eo. Nihil est, quod non existimetur laudis et gloriae caussa facturus. Antonius autem, noster familiaris, tanto se odio esse intelligit, ut, quum interfectores suos domi comprenderit, rem proferre non audeat. A. d. VII. Idus Octobr. Brundisium erat profectus obviam legionibus Macedonicis IV. quas sibi conciliare pecunia cogitabat, easque ad Urbem adducere et in cervicibus nostris collocare. 3. Habes formam reipublicae, si in castris potest esse respublica: in qua tuam vicem saepe doleo, quod nullam partem per aetatem sanae et salvae reipublicae gustare potuisti. Atque antehac quidem sperare saltem licebat: nunc etiam id ereptum est. Quae enim est spes, quum in concione dicere ausus sit Antonius, Canutium apud eos sibi locum quaerere, quibus, se salvo, locus in civitate esse non posset? 4. Equidem et haec et omnia, quae homini accidere possunt, sic fero, ut philosophiae magnam habeam gratiam, quae me non modo ab sollicitudine abducit, sed etiam contra omnes fortunae impetus armat: tibique idem censeo faciendum, nec, a quo culpa absit, quidquam in malis numerandum. Sed haec tu melius. Stratorium nostrum quum semper probassem, tam maxime in tuis rebus summam eius fidem, diligentiam prudentiamque cognovi. Da operam, ut valeas. Hoc mihi gratius facere nihil potes. (*Ad Div.* XII. xxiii.)

## EPISTOLA C.

(In Puteolano, A.U.C. 710.)

## CICERO ATTICO S.

1. Quum sciam, quo die venturus sim, faciam, ut scias. Impedimenta exspectanda sunt, quae Anagnia veniunt: et familia aegra est. Kal. vesperi litterae mihi ab Octaviano. Magna molitur. Veteranos, quiqui Casilini et Calatiae sunt, perduxit ad suam sententiam. Nec mirum: quingenos denarios dat: cogitat reliquas colonias obire. Plane hoc spectat, ut se duce bellum geratur cum Antonio. Itaque video paucis diebus nos in armis fore. Quem autem sequamur? Vide nomen: vide aetatem. Atque a me postulat, primum ut clam colloquatur mecum, vel Capuae vel non longe a Capua. Puerile hoc quidem, si id putat clam fieri posse. Docui per litteras, id nec opus esse nec fieri posse. 2. Misit ad me Caecinam quemdam Volaterranum, familiarem suum, qui haec pertulit: Antonium cum legione Alaudarum ad Urbem pergere, pecunias municipiis imperare, legionem sub signis ducere. Consultabat, utrum Romam cum CIƆCIƆCIƆ veteranorum proficisceretur, an Capuam teneret, et Antonium venientem excluderet, an iret ad tres legiones Macedonicas, quae iter secundum mare superum faciunt: quas sperat suas esse. Eae congiarium ab Antonio accipere noluerunt, ut hic quidem narrat, et ei convicium grave fecerunt, concionantemque reliquerunt. Quid quaeris? ducem se profitetur, nec nos sibi putat deesse oportere. Equidem suasi, ut Romam pergeret. Videtur enim mihi et plebeculam urbanam et, si fidem fecerit, etiam bonos viros secum habiturus. O Brute, ubi es? quantam εὐκαιρίαν amittis? Non equidem hoc divinavi, sed aliquid tale putavi fore. Nunc tuum consilium exquiro. Romamne venio, an hic maneo, an Arpinum (ἀσφάλειαν habet is locus) fugiam? Romam; ne desideremur, si quid actum videbitur. Hoc igitur explica. Numquam in maiore ἀπορίᾳ fui. (*Ad Att.* XVI. viii.)

## EPISTOLA CI.

(Romae, A.U.C. 711.)

### CICERO TREBONIO S.

1. Quam vellem ad illas pulcherrimas epulas me Idibus Martiis invitasses! reliquiarum nihil haberemus. At nunc cum his tantum negotii est, ut vestrum illud divinum in rempublicam beneficium nonnullam habeat querelam. Quod vero a te, viro optimo, seductus est, tuoque beneficio adhuc vivit haec pestis; interdum, quod mihi vix fas est, tibi subirascor. Mihi enim negotii plus reliquisti uni, quam praeter me omnibus. Ut enim primum post Antonii foedissimum discessum senatus haberi libere potuit, ad illum animum meum reverti pristinum, quem tu cum civi acerrimo, patre tuo, in ore et amore semper habuisti. 2. Nam quum senatum a. d. XIII. Kalendas Ianuarias tribuni plebi vocavissent, deque alia re referrent: totam rempublicam sum complexus, egique acerrime senatumque iam languentem et defessum ad pristinam virtutem consuetudinemque revocavi magis animi, quam ingenii viribus. Hic dies meaque contentio atque actio spem primum populo Romano attulit libertatis recuperandae. Nec vero ipse postea tempus ullum intermisi de republica non cogitandi solum, sed etiam agendi. 3. Quod, nisi res urbanas actaque omnia ad te perferri arbitrarer, ipse perscriberem: quamquam eram maximis occupationibus impeditus. Sed illa cognosces ex aliis; a me pauca, et ea summatim. Habemus fortem senatum, consulares partim timidos, partim male sentientes. Magnum damnum factum est in Servio. L. Caesar optime sentit; sed, quod avunculus est, non acerrimas dicit sententias. Consules egregii; praeclarus D. Brutus; puer egregius Caesar; de quo spero equidem reliqua. Hoc vero certum habeto, nisi ille veteranos celeriter conscripsisset, legionesque duae de exercitu Antonii ad eius se auctoritatem contulissent, atque is oppositus esset terror Antonio, nihil Antonium sceleris, nihil crudelitatis praeteriturum fuisse. Haec tibi, etsi audita esse arbitrabar, volui tamen, notiora esse. Plura scribam, si plus otii habuero. (*Ad Div.* X. xxviii.)

## EPISTOLA CII.

(In castris apud Mutinam, A.U.C. 711.)

## GALBA CICERONI SAL.

1. XVII. Kalend. Maii, quo die Pansa in castris Hirtii erat futurus, cum quo ego eram, (nam ei obviam processeram millia pass. centum, quo maturius veniret:) Antonius legiones eduxit duas, Secundam et Quintam trigesimam, et cohortes praetorias duas, unam suam, alteram Silani, evocatorumque partem. Ita obviam venit nobis, quod nos quattuor legiones tironum habere solum arbitrabatur. Sed noctu, quo tutius venire in castra possemus, legionem Martiam, cui ego praeesse solebam, et duas cohortes praetorias miserat Hirtius nobis. 2. Quum equites Antonii apparuissent, contineri neque legio Martia neque cohortes praetoriae potuerunt; quas sequi coepimus coacti, quando eas retinere non potueramus. Antonius ad Forum Gallorum suas copias continebat: neque sciri volebat se legiones habere; tantum equitatum et levem armaturam ostendebat. Posteaquam vidit, se invito, legionem ire, Pansa sequi se duas legiones iussit tironum. Postea vero quam angustias paludis et silvarum transivimus, acies est instructa a nobis duodecim cohortium. 3. Nondum venerant legiones duae; repente Antonius in aciem suas copias de vico produxit et sine mora concurrit. Primo ita pugnatum est, ut acrius non posset ex utraque parte pugnari: etsi dexterius cornu, in quo eram cum Martiae legionis cohortibus octo, impetu primo fugaverat legionem xxxv. Antonii, ut amplius passus quingentos ultra aciem, quo loco steterat, processerit. Itaque quum equites nostrum cornu circuire vellent, recipere me coepi et levem armaturam opponere Maurorum equitibus, ne aversos nostros aggrederentur. Interim video me esse inter Antonianos Antoniumque post me esse aliquanto. Repente equum immisi ad eam legionem tironum, quae veniebat ex castris, scuto reiecto. Antoniani me insequi; nostri pila coniicere velle. Ita nescio quo fato sum servatus, quod sum cito a nostris cognitus. 4. In ipsa Aemilia, ubi cohors Caesaris praetoria erat, diu pugnatum est. Cornu sinisterius, quod erat infirmius, ubi Martiae legionis duae cohortes erant, et cohors praetoria pedem referre coeperunt, quod ab equitatu circuibantur, quo vel plurimum valet

Antonius. Quum omnes se recepissent nostri ordines, recipere me novissimus coepi ad castra. Antonius, tamquam victor, castra putavit se posse capere. Quo quum venit, complures ibi amisit nec egit quidquam. Audita re, Hirtius cum cohortibus viginti veteranis redeunti Antonio in sua castra occurrit, copiasque eius omnes delevit, fugavitque eodem loco, ubi erat pugnatum, ad Forum Gallorum. Antonius cum equitibus hora noctis quarta se in castra sua ad Mutinam recepit. 5. Hirtius in ea castra rediit, unde Pansa exierat, ubi duas legiones reliquerat, quae ab Antonio erant oppugnatae. Sic partem maiorem suarum copiarum Antonius amisit veteranarum. Nec id tamen sine aliqua iactura cohortium praetorianarum nostrarum et legionis Martiae fieri potuit. Aquilae duae, signa sexaginta sunt relata Antonii. Res bene gesta est. A. d. XII. Kalendas Maii ex castris. (*Ad Div.* X. XXX.)

## EPISTOLA CIII.

### CICERO BRUTO S.

1. Quae litterae tuo nomine recitatae sint Id. April. in senatu, eodemque tempore Antonii, credo ad te scripsisse tuos: quorum ego nemini concedo. Sed nihil necesse erat eadem omnes: illud necesse me ad te scribere, quid sentirem de tota constitutione huius belli, et quo iudicio essem, quaque sententia. Voluntas mea, Brute, de summa republica semper eadem fuit, quae tua: ratio quibusdam in rebus (non enim omnibus) paullo fortasse vehementior. Scis mihi semper placuisse, non rege solum, sed regno liberari rempublicam. Tu lenius, immortali omnino cum tua laude: sed quid melius fuerit, magno dolore sensimus, magno periculo sentimus. Recenti illo tempore, tu omnia ad pacem, quae oratione confici non poterat; ego omnia ad libertatem, quae sine pace nulla est: pacem ipsam bello atque armis effici posse arbitrabar. Studia non deerunt arma poscentium, quorum repressimus impetum ardoremque restinximus. 2. Itaque res in eum locum venerat, ut, nisi Caesari Octaviano deus quidam illam mentem dedisset, in potestatem perditissimi hominis et turpissimi M. Antonii veniendum fuerit: quocum vides hoc tempore ipso quod sit quantumque certamen. Id

profecto nullum esset, nisi tum conservatus esset Antonius. Sed haec omitto. Res enim a te gesta memorabilis et paene caelestis repellit omnes reprehensiones: quippe quae ne laude quidem satis idonea affici possit. Exstitisti nuper vultu severo: exercitum, copias, legiones idoneas per te brevi tempore comparasti. Dii immortales! qui ille nuntius, quae illae litterae, quae laetitia senatus, quae alacritas civitatis erat! nihil umquam vidi tam omnium consensione laudatum. Erat exspectatio reliquiarum Antonii: quem equitatu legionibusque magna ex parte spoliaras. Ea quoque habuit exitum optabilem. Nam tuae litterae, quae recitatae in senatu sunt, et imperatoris consilium, et militum virtutem, et industriam tuorum, in quibus Ciceronis mei, declarant. Quod si tuis placuisset, de his litteris referri, et nisi in tempus turbulentissimum, post discessum Pansae consulis, incidissent, honos quoque iustus et debitus diis immortalibus decretus esset. 3. Ecce tibi Idib. April. advolat mane celer Pilus, qui vir! dii boni, quam gravis! quam constans! quam bonarum in republica partium! Hic epistolas affert duas, unam tuo nomine, alteram Antonii. Dat Servilio tribuno plebis; ille Cornuto: recitantur in senatu. ANTONIUS PROCOS. Magna admiratio, ut si esset recitatum, DOLABELLA IMPERATOR, a quo quidem venerant tabellarii: sed nemo Pili similis, qui proferre litteras auderet, aut magistratibus reddere. Tuae recitantur, breves illae quidem, sed in Antonium admodum lenes. Vehementer admiratus senatus. Mihi autem non erat explicatum, quid agerem. Falsas dicerem? Quid si tu eas approbasses? Confirmarem? Non erat dignitatis tuae. Itaque ille dies silentio. 4. Postridie autem quum sermo increbuisset, Pilusque oculos vehementius hominum offendisset, natum omnino est principium a me. De procos. Antonio multa: Sextius caussae non defuit; post, me cum quanto suum filium, quanto meum in periculo futurum duceret, si contra procos. arma tulissent. Nosti hominem: caussae non defuit. Dixerunt etiam alii. Labeo vero noster, nec signum tuum in epistola, nec diem appositum, nec te scripsisse ad tuos, ut soleres. Hoc cogere volebat, falsas litteras esse, et, si quaeris, probabat. 5. Nunc tuum est consilium, Brute, de toto genere belli. Video te lenitate delectari, et eum putare fructum esse maximum: praeclare quidem, sed aliis rebus, aliis temporibus, locus esse solet debetque clementiae.

Nunc quid agitur, Brute? Templis deorum immortalium imminet hominum egentium et perditorum spes, nec quidquam aliud decernitur hoc bello, nisi utrum simus, necne. Cui parcimus, aut quid agimus? His ergo consulimus, quibus victoribus vestigium nostrûm nullum relinquetur? Nam quid interest inter Dolabellam, et quemvis Antoniorum trium? quorum si cui parcimus, duri fuimus in Dolabella. Haec ut ita sentiret senatus populusque Romanus, etsi res ipsa cogebat, tamen maxima ex parte nostro consilio atque auctoritate perfectum est. Tu si hanc rationem non probas, tuam sententiam defendam, non relinquam meam. Neque dissolutum a te quidquam homines exspectant, neque crudele. Huius rei moderatio facilis est, ut in duces vehemens sis, in milites liberalis. 6. Ciceronem meum, mi Brute, velim quam plurimum tecum habeas. Virtutis disciplinam meliorem reperiet nullam, quam contemplationem atque imitationem tui. XIII. Kalend. Maii. (*Ad Brut.* II. vii.)

## EPISTOLA CIV.

(Ex castris in Asia, A.U.C. 711.)

### CASSIUS PROCOS. S. D. M. CICERONI SUO.

1. Si vales, bene est; ego quidem valeo. Legi tuas litteras, in quibus mirificum tuum erga me amorem recognovi. Videbaris enim non solum favere nobis, (id quod et nostri et reipublicae caussa semper fecisti,) sed etiam gravem curam suscepisse vehementerque esse de nobis sollicitus. Itaque, quod te primum existimare putabam, nos oppressa republica, quiescere non posse; deinde, quum suspicarere nos moliri, quod te sollicitum esse et de salute nostra et de rerum eventu putabam: simul ac legiones accepi, quas A. Allienus eduxerat ex Aegypto, scripsi ad te tabellariosque complures Romam misi. Scripsi etiam ad senatum litteras, quas reddi vetui prius, quam tibi recitatae essent; si forte mei obtemperare mihi voluerint. Quod si litterae perlatae non sunt, non dubito, quin Dolabella, qui, nefarie Trebonio occiso, Asiam occupavit, tabellarios meos deprehenderit litterasque interceperit. 2. Exercitus omnes, qui in Syria fuere, teneo. Habui paullulum morae, dum promissa militibus persolvo. Nunc iam sum expeditus. A te peto, ut dignitatem meam com-

mendatam tibi habeas, si me intelligis nullum neque periculum neque laborem patriae denegasse; si contra importunissimos latrones arma cepi te hortante et auctore; si non solum exercitus ad rempublicam libertatemque defendendam comparavi, sed etiam crudelissimis tyrannis eripui: quos si occupasset Dolabella, non solum adventu, sed etiam opinione et exspectatione exercitus sui Antonium confirmasset. 3. Quas ob res milites tuere, si eos mirifice de republica meritos esse animadvertis; et effice, ne quem poeniteat, rempublicam quam spem praedae et rapinarum sequi maluisse. Item Murci et Cripsi imperatorum dignitatem, quantum es in te, tuere. Nam Bassus misere noluit mihi legionem tradere. Quod nisi milites invito eo legatos ad me misissent, clausam Apameam tenuisset, quoad vi esset expugnata. Haec a te peto non solum reipublicae, quae tibi semper fuit carissima, sed etiam amicitiae nostrae nomine, quam confido apud te plurimum posse. 4. Crede mihi, hunc exercitum, quem habeo, senatus atque optimi cuiusque esse maximeque tuum; de cuius voluntate assidue audiendo mirifice te diligit carumque habet. Qui si intellexerit commoda sua curae tibi esse, debere etiam se tibi omnia putabit. 5. Litteris scriptis, audii Dolabellam in Ciliciam venisse cum suis copiis. Proficiscar in Ciliciam. Quid egerim, celeriter ut scias, dabo operam. Ac velim, ut meremur de republica, sic felices simus. Fac valeas meque ames. Nonis Maiis, ex castris. (*Ad Div.* XII. xii.)

## EPISTOLA CV.

(In Allobrogibus, 711.)

## PLANCUS CICERONI.

1. His litteris scriptis, quae postea accidissent, scire te, ad rempublicam putavi pertinere. Sedulitas mea, ut spero, et mihi et reipublicae tulit fructum. Namque assiduis internuntiis cum Lepido egi, ut, omissa omni contentione reconciliataque voluntate nostra, communi consilio reipublicae succurreret: se, liberos Urbemque pluris, quam unum perditum abiectumque latronem putaret; obsequioque meo, si ita faceret, ad omnes res abuteretur. 2. Profeci itaque per Laterensem internuntium. Fidem mihi dedit, se Antonium, si prohibere provincia sua non potuisset, bello persecuturum: me, ut venirem copiasque coniungerem, rogavit;

eoque magis, quod et Antonius ab equitatu firmus esse dicebatur, et Lepidus ne mediocrem quidem equitatum habebat. Nam etiam ex paucitate eius, non multis ante diebus, decem, qui optimi fuerant, ad me transierunt. Quibus rebus ego cognitis, cunctatus non sum; in cursu bonorum consiliorum Lepidum adiuvandum putavi. 3. Adventus meus quid profecturus esset, vidi: vel quod equitatu meo persequi atque opprimere equitatum eius possem, vel quod exercitus Lepidi eam partem, quae corrupta est et ab republica alienata, et corrigere et coercere praesentia mei exercitus possem. Itaque in Isara, flumine maximo, quod in finibus est Allobrogum, ponte uno die facto, exercitum a. d. quartum Idus Maias traduxi. Quum vero mihi nuntiatum esset, L. Antonium praemissum cum equitibus et cohortibus ad Forum Iulii venisse: fratrem cum equitum quattuor millibus, ut occurreret ei, misi a. d. v. Idus Maias: ipse maximis itineribus cum quattuor legionibus expeditis et reliquo equitatu subsequar. 4. Si nos mediocris modo fortuna reipublicae adiuverit, et audaciae perditorum et nostrae sollicitudinis hic finem reperiemus. Quod si latro, praecognito nostro adventu, rursus in Italiam se recipere coeperit, Bruti erit officium, occurrere ei: cui scio nec consilium, nec animum defuturum. Ego tamen, si id acciderit, fratrem cum equitatu mittam, qui sequatur, Italiam a vastatione defendat. Fac valeas, meque mutuo diligas. (*Ad Div.* X. xv.)

## EPISTOLA CVI.

(Romae, A.U.C. 711.)

### M. CICERO S. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

1. Tres uno die a te accepi epistolas: unam brevem, quam Flacco Volumnio dederas; duas pleniores: quarum alteram tabellarius T. Vibii attulit, alteram ad me misit Lupus. Ex tuis litteris et ex Graeceii oratione non modo non restinctum bellum, sed etiam inflammatum videtur. Non dubito autem, pro tua singulari prudentia, quin perspicias, si aliquid firmitatis nactus sit Antonius, omnia tua illa praeclara in rempublicam merita ad nihilum esse ventura. Ita enim Romam erat nuntiatum, ita persuasum omnibus, cum paucis inermis, perterritis metu, fracto animo, fugisse Antonium. 2. Qui si ita se habet, ut, quemadmodum audiebam de Graeceio, con-

fligi cum eo sine periculo non possit: non ille mihi fugisse a Mutina videtur, sed locum belli gerendi mutasse. Itaque homines alii facti sunt: nonnulli etiam queruntur, quod persecuti non sitis. Opprimi potuisse, si celeritas adhibita esset, existimant. Omnino est hoc populi, maximeque nostri, in eo potissimum abuti libertate, per quem eam consecutus sit. Sed tamen providendum est, ne qua iusta querela esse possit. Res se sic habet. Is bellum confecerit, qui Antonium oppresserit. Hoc quam vim habeat, te existimare malo, quam me apertius scribere. (*Ad Div.* XI. xii.)

## EPISTOLA CVII.

(A Ponte Argenteo, A.U.C. 711).

### LEPIDUS IMP. ITER. PONT. MAX. S. D. SENAT. POP. PL. Q. R.

1. S. V. liberique vestri V. B. E. E. Q. V. Deos hominesque testor, patres conscripti, qua mente et quo animo semper in rempublicam fuerim, et quam nihil antiquius communi salute ac libertate iudicarim; quod vobis brevi probassem, nisi mihi fortuna proprium consilium extorsisset. Nam exercitus cunctus consuetudinem suam in civibus conservandis communique pace, seditione facta, retinuit meque tantae multitudinis civium Romanorum salutis atque incolumitatis caussam suscipere, ut vere dicam, coegit. 2. In qua re ego vos, patres conscripti, oro atque obsecro, ut, privatis offensionibus omissis, summae reipublicae consulatis, neve misericordiam nostram exercitusque nostri in civili dissensione sceleris loco ponatis. Quod si salutis omnium ac dignitatis rationem habueritis, melius et vobis et reipublicae consuletis. Data III. Kal. Iunias a Ponte Argenteo. Valete. (*Ad Div.* X. xxxv.)

## EPISTOLA CVIII.

(Pergae, A.U.C. 711.)

### P. LENTULUS P. F. PROQ. PROPR. S. D. COSS. PRAETT. TRIBB. PL. SEN. P. Q. R.

1. Si valetis liberique V. V. B. E. E. V. Scelere Dolabellae oppressa Asia, in proximam provinciam Macedoniam praesidiaque reipublicae, quae M. Brutus, V. C. tenebat, me contuli,

et id egi, ut, per quos celerrime posset, Asia provincia vectigaliaque in vestram potestatem redigerentur. Quod quum pertimuisset Dolabella, vastata provincia, correptis vectigalibus, praecipue civibus Romanis omnibus crudelissime denudatis ac divenditis, celeriusque Asia excessisset, quam eo praesidium adduci potuisset: diutius morari aut exspectare praesidium non necesse habui et quam primum ad meum officium revertendum mihi esse existimavi, ut et reliqua vectigalia exigerem et, quam deposui pecuniam, colligerem, quidquid ex ea correptum esset aut quorum id culpa accidisset, cognoscerem quam primum et vos de omni re facerem certiores. 2. Interim quum per insulas in Asiam naviganti mihi nuntiatum esset, classem Dolabellae in Lycia esse Rhodiosque naves complures instructas et paratas in aqua habere: cum his navibus, quas aut mecum adduxeram aut comparaverat Patiscus proquaestor, homo mihi quum familiaritate, tum etiam sensibus in republica coniunctissimus, Rhodum reverti, confisus auctoritate vestra senatusque consulto, quo hostem Dolabellam iudicaratis, foedere quoque, quod cum his, M. Marcello, Ser. Sulpicio consulibus, renovatum erat; quo iuraverant Rhodii, eosdem hostes se habituros, quos S. P. Q. R. Quae res nos vehementer fefellit. Tantum enim abfuit, ut illorum praesidio nostram firmaremus classem, ut etiam a Rhodiis urbe, portu, statione, quae extra urbem est, commeatu, aqua denique prohiberentur nostri milites, nos vix ipsi singulis cum navigiolis reciperemur. Quam indignitatem deminutionemque non solum iuris nostri, sed etiam maiestatis imperiique populi Romani idcirco tulimus, quod interceptis litteris cognoramus, Dolabellam, si desperasset de Syria Aegyptoque, quod necesse erat fieri, in naves cum omnibus suis latronibus atque omni pecunia conscendere esse paratum Italiamque petere: idcirco etiam naves onerarias, quarum minor nulla erat duûm millium amphorûm, contractas in Lycia a classe eius obsideri. 3. Huius rei timore, patres conscripti, percitus, iniurias perpeti et, cum contumelia etiam nostra, omnia prius experiri malui. Itaque ad illorum voluntatem introductus in urbem et in senatum eorum, quam diligentissime potui, caussam reipublicae egi periculumque omne, quod instaret, si ille latro cum omnibus suis naves conscendisset, exposui. Rhodios autem tanta in pravitate animadverti, ut omnes firmiores putarent, quam bonos; ut

hanc concordiam et conspirationem omnium ordinum ad defendendam libertatem propense non crederent esse factam; ut patientiam senatus et optimi cuiusque manere etiam nunc confiderent, nec potuisse audere quemquam Dolabellam hostem iudicare: ut denique omnia, quae improbi fingebant, magis vera existimarent, quam quae vere facta erant et a nobis docebantur. 4. Qua mente etiam ante nostrum adventum, post Trebonii indignissimam caedem ceteraque tot tamque nefaria facinora, binae profectae erant ad Dolabellam legationes eorum, et quidem novo exemplo, contra leges ipsorum, prohibentibus iis, qui tum magistratus gerebant. Haec sive timore, ut dictitant, de agris, quos in continenti habent, sive furore sive potentia paucorum, (qui et antea pari contumelia viros clarissimos affecerant, et nunc maxime nos magistratus gerentes) nullo exemplo neque vestro ex parte, neque nostro praesentium, neque imminenti Italiae urbique nostrae periculo, si ille parricida cum suis latronibus navibus, ex Asia Syriaque expulsus, Italiam petisset, mederi, quum facile possent, voluerunt. 5. Nonnullis etiam ipsi magistratus veniebant in suspicionem, detinuisse nos, et demorati esse, dum classis Dolabellae certior fieret de adventu nostro. Quam suspicionem consecutae res aliquot auxerunt: maxime quod subito ex Lycia Sex. Marius et C. Titius legati Dolabellae a classe discesserunt navique longa profugerunt onerariis relictis; in quibus colligendis non minimum temporis laborisque consumpserant. Itaque quum ab Rhodo cum iis, quas habueramus, navibus in Lyciam venissemus, naves onerarias recepimus dominisque restituimus; iidemque, quod maxime verebamur, ne posset Dolabella cum suis latronibus in Italiam venire, timere desiimus: classem fugientem persecuti sumus usque Sidam, quae extrema regio est provinciae meae. 6. Ibi cognovi partem navium Dolabellae diffugisse, reliquas Syriam Cyprumque petiisse. Quibus disiectis, quum scirem C. Cassii, singularis civis et ducis, classem maximam fore praesto in Syria, ad meum officium reverti; daboque operam, ut meum studium, diligentiam vobis, patres conscripti, reique publicae praestem: pecuniamque, quam maximam potero, et quam celerrime cogam omnibusque cum rationibus ad vos mittam. Si percurrero provinciam et cognovero, qui nobis et reipublicae fidem praestiterunt in conservanda pecunia a me deposita, quique scelere ultro deferentes pecuniam publicam hoc munere

societatem facinorum cum Dolabella inierunt, faciam vos certiores. De quibus, si vobis videbitur, si, ut meriti sunt, graviter constitueritis, nosque vestra auctoritate firmaveritis: facilius et reliqua exigere vectigalia, et exacta servare poterimus. Interea quo commodius vectigalia tueri provinciamque ab iniuria defendere possim, praesidium necessarium voluntariumque comparavi. 7. His litteris scriptis, milites circiter xxx, quos Dolabella ex Asia conscripserat, e Syria fugientes in Pamphyliam venerunt. Hi nuntiaverunt Dolabellam Antiocheam, quae in Syria est, venisse; non receptum conatum esse aliquoties vi introire; repulsum semper esse cum magno suo detrimento; itaque centum circiter amissis, aegris relictis, noctu Antiochea profugisse Laodiceam versus; ea nocte omnes fere Asiaticos milites ab eo discessisse, ex his ad octingentos Antiocheam rediisse et se iis tradidisse, qui a Cassio relicti urbi illi praeerant, caeteros per Amanum in Ciliciam descendisse: quo ex numero se quoque esse dicebant; Cassium autem cum suis omnibus copiis nuntiatum esse quatridui iter Laodicea abfuisse, tum quum Dolabella eo tenderet. Quamobrem opinione celerius confido sceleratissimum latronem poenas daturum. Quarto Nonas Iunias, Pergae. (*Ad Div.* XII. xv.)

## EPISTOLA CIX.

(Romae, A.U.C. 711.)

### M. CICERO S. D. BRUTO IMP. COS. DES.

1. Narro tibi: antea subirascebar brevitati tuarum litterarum: nunc mihi loquax esse videor; te igitur imitabor. Quam multa quam paucis! te recte valere, operamque dare, ut quotidie melius; Lepidum commode sentire; tribus exercitibus quidvis nos oportere confidere. Si timidus essem, tamen ista epistola mihi omnem metum abstersisses. Sed, ut mones, frenum momordi: etenim qui, te incluso, omnem spem habuerim in te, quid nunc putas? Cupio iam vigiliam meam, Brute, tibi tradere; sed ita, ut ne desim constantiae meae. 2. Quod scribis, in Italia te moraturum, dum tibi litterae meae veniant: si per hostem licet, non erraris: multa enim Romae: sin adventu tuo bellum confici potest, nihil sit antiquius. Pecunia expeditissima quae erat, tibi decreta est. Habes amantissimum Servium; nos non desumus. VIII. Idus Iunias. (*Ad Div.* XI. xxiv.)

## EPISTOLA CX.

(Romae, A.U.C. 711.)

## M. T. C. S. P. D. C. CASSIO.

1. Lepidus, tuus affinis, meus familiaris, pridie Kal. Quintiles sententiis omnibus hostis a senatu iudicatus est ceterique, qui una cum illo a republica defecerunt: quibus tamen ad sanitatem redeundi ante Kal. Septemb. potestas facta est. Fortis sane senatus, sed maxime spe subsidii tui. Bellum quidem, quum haec scribebam, sane magnum erat, scelere et levitate Lepidi. Nos de Dolabella quotidie, quae volumus, audimus: sed adhuc sine capite, sine auctore, rumore nuntio. 2. Quod quum ita esset, tamen litteris tuis, quas Nonis Maiis ex castris datas acceperamus, ita persuasum erat civitati, ut illum iam oppressum omnes arbitrarentur, te autem in Italiam venire cum exercitu: ut, si haec ex sententia confecta essent, consilio atque auctoritate tua, sin quid forte titubatum, ut fit in bello, exercitu tuo niteremur. Quem quidem ego exercitum, quibuscumque potero rebus, ornabo, cuius rei tum tempus erit, quum, quid opis reipublicae laturus is exercitus sit, aut quid iam tulerit, notum esse coeperit. Nam adhuc tantum conatus audiuntur, optimi illi quidem et praeclarissimi, sed gesta res exspectatur: quam quidem aut iam esse aliquam aut appropinquare confido. 3. Tua virtute et magnitudine animi nihil est nobilius. Itaque optamus, ut quam primum te in Italia videamus. Rempublicam nos habere arbitrabimur, si vos habebimus. Praeclare viceramus, nisi spoliatum, inermem, fugientem Lepidus recepisset Antonium. Itaque numquam tanto odio civitati Antonius fuit, quanto est Lepidus. Ille enim ex turbulenta republica, hic ex pace et victoria bellum excitavit. Huic oppositos consules designatos habemus: in quibus est magna illa quidem spes, sed anceps cura propter incertos exitus praeliorum. 4. Persuade tibi igitur, in te et in Bruto tuo esse omnia, vos exspectari, Brutum quidem iam iamque. Quod si, ut spero, victis hostibus nostris veneritis: tamen auctoritate vestra respublica exsurget et in aliquo statu tolerabili consistet. Sunt enim permulta, quibus erit medendum: etiamsi respublica satis esse videbitur sceleribus hostium liberata. Vale. (*Ad Div.* XII. x.)

## EPISTOLA CXI.

(In castris, A.U.C. 711.)

## PLANCUS IMP. CONS. DESIGN. S. D. CICERONI.

1. Facere non possum, quin in singulas res meritaque tua tibi gratias agam. Sed mehercule facio cum pudore. Neque enim tanta necessitudo, quantam tu mihi tecum esse voluisti, desiderare videtur gratiarum actionem, neque ego lubenter pro maximis tuis beneficiis tam vili munere defungor orationis; et malo praesens observantia, indulgentia, assiduitate memorem me tibi probare. Quod si mihi vita contigerit, omnes gratas amicitias atque etiam pias propinquitates in tua observantia, indulgentia, assiduitate vincam. Amor enim tuus ac iudicium de me utrum mihi plus dignitatis in perpetuum, an voluptatis quotidie sic allaturus, non facile dixerim. 2. De militum commodis fuit tibi curae; quos ego non potentiae meae caussa (nihil enim me non salutariter cogitare scio) ornari volui a senatu; sed primum, quod ita meritos iudicabam; deinde, quod ad omnes casus coniunctiores reipublicae esse volebam; novissime, ut ab omni omnium sollicitatione aversos eos tales vobis praestare possem, quales adhuc fuerunt. 3. Nos adhuc hic omnia integra sustinuimus. Quod consilium nostrum, etsi, quanta sit aviditas hominum, non sine caussa talis victoriae scio, tamen vobis probari spero. Non enim, si quid in his exercitibus sit offensum, magna subsidia respublica habet expedita, quibus subito impetu ac latrocinio parricidarum resistat. Copias vero nostras notas tibi esse arbitror. In castris meis legiones sunt veteranae tres, tironum vel luculentissima ex omnibus una; in castris Bruti una veterana legio, altera bima, octo tironum. Ita universus exercitus numero amplissimus est, firmitate exiguus. Quantum autem in acie tironi sit committendum, nimium saepe expertum habemus. 4. Ad hoc robur nostrorum exercituum sive Africanus exercitus, qui est veteranus, sive Caesaris accessisset, aequo animo summam rempublicam in discrimen deduceremus. Aliquanto autem propius esse, quod ad Caesarem attinet, videbamus; nihil destiti eum litteris hortari; neque ille intermisit affirmare, se sine mora venire; quum interim aversum illum ab hac cogitatione ad alia consilia video se contulisse. Ego tamen ad eum Furnium

nostrum cum mandatis litterisque misi, si quid forte proficere posset. 5. Scis tu, mi Cicero, quod ad Caesaris amorem attinet, societatem mihi esse tecum: vel quod in familiaritate Caesaris, vivo illo, iam tueri eum et diligere fuit mihi necesse; vel quod ipse, quoad ego nosse potui, moderatissimi atque humanissimi fuit sensus; vel quod ex tam insigni amicitia mea atque Caesaris hunc, filii loco et illius et vestro iudicio substitutum, non proinde habere, turpe mihi videtur. 6. Sed, quidquid tibi scribo, dolenter mehercule magis, quam inimice facio. Quod vivit Antonius hodie, quod Lepidus una est, quod exercitus habent non contemnendos, quod sperant, quod audent, omne Caesari acceptum referre possunt. Neque ego superiora repetam; sed ex eo tempore, quo ipse mihi professus est se venire, si venire voluisset, aut oppressum iam bellum esset, aut in aversissimam illis Hispaniam cum detrimento eorum maximo extrusum. Quae mens eum, aut quorum consilia a tanta gloria, sibi vero etiam necessaria ac salutari, avocarint, et ad cogitationem consulatus bimestris summo cum terrore hominum et insulsa cum efflagitatione transtulerint, exputare non possum. 7. Multum in hac re mihi videntur necessarii eius et reipublicae et ipsius caussa proficere posse; plurimum, ut puto, tu quoque, cuius ille tanta merita habet, quanta nemo praeter me: numquam enim obliviscar maxima ac plurima me tibi debere. De his rebus, ut exigeret cum eo, Furnio mandavi. Quod si, quantam debeo, habuero apud eum auctoritatem, plurimum ipsum iuvero. 8. Nos interea duriore conditione bellum sustinemus, quod neque expeditissimam dimicationem putamus, neque tamen refugiendo commissuri sumus, ut maius detrimentum respublica accipere possit. Quod si aut Caesar se respexerit aut Africanae legiones celeriter venerint, securos vos ab hac parte reddemus. Tu, ut instituisti, me diligas rogo, proprieque tuum esse tibi persuadeas. v. Kal. Sext. ex castris. (*Ad Div.* X. xxiv.)

# CHRONOLOGY OF CICERO'S LIFE.

| B.C. | A.U.C. | A.C.V. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 106 | 648 | 1 | Jugurtha captured. Birth of Pompey. |
| 105 | 649 | 2 | Successes of the Cimbri against Manlius and Caepio |
| 102 | 652 | 5 | Marius routs the Teutones at Aquae Sextiae. Second servile war in Sicily |
| 101 | 653 | 6 | Cimbri defeated at Vercellae. Aquillius ends the war in Sicily |
| 100 | 654 | 7 | Exile of Metellus. Birth of C. Julius Caesar |
| 99 | 655 | 8 | Return of Metellus. End of the Servile war |
| 96 | 658 | 11 | Death of Ptolemy Apion |
| 91 | 663 | 16 | Reforms of Livius Drusus |
| 90 | 664 | 17 | The Social or Marsian war |
| 89 | 665 | 18 | Cicero serves under Cn. Pompeius in the Marsian war |
| 88 | 666 | 19 | Social war concluded. Mithridatic war |
| 87 | 667 | 20 | Cinna and Marius. Sulla in Greece |
| 86 | 668 | 21 | Death of Marius. Athens stormed by Sulla |
| 85 | 669 | 22 | C. Flavius Fimbria in Asia |
| 84 | 670 | 23 | Sulla grants peace to Mithridates |
| 83 | 671 | 24 | Sulla returns to Italy. Burning of the Capitol |
| 82 | 672 | 25 | Sulla dictator |
| 81 | 673 | 26 | Triumph of Sulla. Constitution of Sulla. Pompey triumphs for the African war |
| 79 | 675 | 28 | Abdication of Sulla |
| 78 | 676 | 29 | Sulla dies. Civil war of Lepidus. Sertorius in Spain. Cicero studies in Greece |
| 77 | 677 | 30 | P. Servilius is sent against the Pirates |
| 76 | 678 | 31 | Sertorius opposed by Metellus and Pompey in Spain |
| 75 | 679 | 32 | Cicero Quaestor in Sicily |

| B.C. | A.U.C. | A.C.V. | | Epp. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 74 | 680 | 33 | Mithridatic war | |
| 73 | 681 | 34 | Lucullus at Cyzicus. War with Spartacus | |
| 72 | 682 | 35 | Sertorius slain | |
| 71 | 683 | 36 | War with Spartacus ended. Pompey triumphs for the Spanish war | |
| 70 | 684 | 37 | Mithridates received by Tigranes. Cicero *in Verrem*. Birth of Virgil | |
| 69 | 685 | 38 | Tigranes defeated by Lucullus. Cicero Aedile | |
| 68 | 686 | 39 | Q. Metellus in Crete. Cicero's correspondence with Atticus begins | |
| 67 | 687 | 40 | Sedition in the army of Lucullus. War against Pirates. Cretic war concluded | |
| 66 | 688 | 41 | Mithridatic war committed to Pompey. Cicero Praetor | |
| 65 | 689 | 42 | Caesar Aedile. Birth of Horace | |
| 64 | 690 | 43 | Pompey in Syria. Cicero Consul designatus . . . . | I |
| 63 | 691 | 44 | Cicero Consul. Death of Mithridates. Jerusalem taken by Pompey. Conspiracy of Catiline. Birth of Augustus | |
| 62 | 692 | 45 | Catiline slain. Caesar Praetor. End of Mithridatic war. Return of Pompey. Clodius intrudes into Caesar's house. . . . | II, III |
| 61 | 693 | 46 | Triumph of Pompey. Trial of Clodius | IV |
| 60 | 694 | 47 | Caesar in Spain. Triumvirate of Pompey, Caesar, and Crassus | |
| 59 | 695 | 48 | Caesar offers Cicero a Legatio. Clodius adopted into the plebs. Gaul assigned to Caesar for five years. | VI, XI. |
| 58 | 696 | 49 | Caesar in Gaul. Cicero's exile . | XII—XVI |
| 57 | 697 | 50 | War with the Belgae. Cicero's return from exile . . . . . . | XVII—XIX |
| 56 | 698 | 51 | War in Armorica. Affair of Ptolemy. Impeachment of Milo . | XX—XXIII |
| 55 | 699 | 52 | Fourth campaign in Gaul. Caesar in Britain. Pompey's games . . | XXIV |
| 54 | 700 | 53 | War with Ambiorix. Caesar in Britain | XXV—XXX |
| 53 | 701 | 54 | Sixth campaign in Gaul. Death of Crassus. Cicero Augur | |
| 52 | 702 | 55 | Death of Clodius. Trial of Milo. War with Vercingetorix | |
| 51 | 703 | 56 | Eighth campaign in Gaul. Cicero goes to Cilicia. Conquers the Pindenissi . . . . . | XXXI—XXXVII |

| B.C. | A.U.C. | A.C.V. | | Epp. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 50 | 704 | 57 | Cicero applies for a Supplicatio. Returns to Italy. First disagreement of Pompey and Caesar. . . | XXXVIII—XLVI |
| 49 | 705 | 58 | Civil war. Pompey leaves Italy. Cicero joins him. Caesar in Spain | XLVII—LX |
| 48 | 706 | 59 | Pharsalia. Death of Pompey. Alexandrine war. Cicero returns to Italy . . . . . . | LXI |
| 47 | 707 | 60 | War with Pharnaces. Caesar Dictator | LXII—LXVII |
| 46 | 708 | 61 | African war. Cato dies. Reformation of the calendar . . . . | LXVIII—LXXVII |
| 45 | 709 | 62 | War in Spain. Cicero entertains Caesar | LXXVIII—LXXXIV |
| 44 | 710 | 63 | Death of Caesar. Brutus and Cassius leave Italy. Philippicae I—IV. | LXXXV—C |
| 43 | 711 | 64 | War of Mutina. Second Triumvirate. Philippicae V—XIV. . Cicero dies | CI—CXI |

# INDEX

TO THE

# LETTERS CONTAINED IN THIS VOLUME.

| Letters of this Edition | Schütz's Edition | Ordinary Arrangement | Events alluded to |
|---|---|---|---|
| XXXII | 197 | Div. XIII. 1 | At Athens. Epicurus' house |
| XXXIII | 200 | Att. V. 12 | At sea |
| XXXIV | 201 | „ 13 | From Ephesus |
| XXXV | 219 | Div. XV. 2 | Concerning the Parthians |
| XXXVI | 223 | Div. VIII. 8 | Pompey's conduct concerning Caesar's province |
| XXXVII | 228 | Att. V. 20 | Victory over the Pindenissians |
| XXXVIII | 238 | Div. XV. 4 | Asking for a supplication |
| XXXIX | 266 | „ „ 5 | Cato's answer |
| XL | 252 | Att. VI. 1 | The affair of Scaptius |
| XLI | 261 | Div. III. 10 | To Appius, excusing himself |
| XLII | 278 | Div. XV. 6 | To Cato concerning his supplicatio |
| XLIII | 280 | Div.VIII.14 | The first notice of the difference between Pompey and Caesar |
| XLIV | 284 | Att. VII. 1 | Hopes to intercede between Pompey and Caesar |
| XLV | 295 | „ „ 4 | Interview with Pompey |
| XLVI | 300 | „ „ 9 | His opinion of Caesar |
| XLVII | 304 | „ „ 11 | Pompey's plan of leaving Rome |
| XLVIII | 314 | „ „ 17 | Pompey's message to Caesar |
| XLIX | 319 | „ „ 22 | Laments Pompey's inactivity |
| L | 326 | „ VIII. 3 | Whether he shall accompany Pompey |
| LI | 334 | „ „ 11 | Letter to Pompey |
| LII | 340 | „ „ 16 | Plan of going to Greece |
| LIII | 348 | „ IX. 7 | Discusses the results of Pompey's possible victory |
| LIV | 347 | „ „ 6 | Caesar hopes to meet Cicero at Rome |
| LV | 352 | „ „ 11 | Cicero replies |
| LVI | 359 | „ „ 18 | Account of interview with Caesar |
| LVII | 360 | „ „ 19 | Determines to join Pompey |
| LVIII | 372 | Div. II. 16 | He does not wish to join in the war |
| LIX | 374 | Att. X. 8 | Letters of Caesar and Antony |
| LX | 382 | „ „ 16 | Cato's abandonment of Sicily |
| LXI | 392 | „ XI. 4 | From Pompey's camp |
| LXII | 404 | „ „ 9 | Reasons for his conduct |
| LXIII | 407 | „ „ 12 | Letter to Caesar |
| LXIV | 410 | „ „ 15 | His wretched condition |
| LXV | 424 | Div. XV. 15 | Reasons for leaving the war |
| LXVI | 425 | Att. XI. 20 | Caesar pardons Q. Cicero |
| LXVII | 427 | „ „ 22 | Whether he shall go to Rome? |
| LXVIII | 440 | Div. IX. 2 | Why he has stayed at Rome |
| LXIX | 445 | Att. XII. 4 | Panegyric on Cato |
| LXX | 446 | Div. IX. 6 | Caesar's arrival expected |
| LXXI | 447 | „ „ 7 | Determines to leave Rome |
| LXXII | 450 | „ „ 16 | His conciliatory policy to Caesar |
| LXXIII | 456 | „ „ 20 | He gives up public life |
| LXXIV | 464 | Div. IV. 7 | Advises Marcellus to make peace with Caesar |
| LXXV | 469 | „ „ 4 | Concerning Marcellus' pardon |
| LXXVI | 470 | „ VI. 6 | Praises Caesar |
| LXXVII | 514 | „ „ 12 | Calamity of the State |
| LXXVIII | 520 | „ XV. 17 | The Spanish war |

| Letters of this Edition | Schütz's Edition | Ordinary Arrangement | Events alluded to |
|---|---|---|---|
| LXXIX | 527 | Div. VI. 10 | Relations to Caesar |
| LXXX | 554 | „ XIII. 15 | Letter to Caesar |
| LXXXI | 555 | „ „ 16 | The same |
| LXXXII | 556 | „ IV. 12 | Death of Marcellus |
| LXXXIII | 578 | Att. XIII. 28 | Treatise intended for Caesar |
| LXXXIV | 650 | „ „ 52 | Caesar's visit |
| LXXXV | 652 | Div. VII. 30 | The consulship of Caninius |
| LXXXVI | 689 | Att. XIV. 10 | Antony's 'Acts of Caesar' |
| LXXXVII | 691 | „ „ 12 | Interview with Octavius |
| LXXXVIII | 692 | „ „ 13 | Antony's letter to Cicero and his answer |
| LXXXIX | 693 | „ „ 14 | Concerning death of Caesar |
| XC | 699 | Div. IX. 14 | Praises Dolabella |
| XCI | 708 | Att. XV. 2 | Relations of Antony and Octavius |
| XCII | 713 | Div. XI. 2 | Brutus and Cassius to Antony |
| XCIII | 723 | Att. XV. 11 | Interview with Brutus and Cassius |
| XCIV | 731 | „ „ 20 | Danger from Antony |
| XCV | 747 | „ XVI. 1 | His voyage |
| XCVI | 750 | „ „ 2 | Interview with Brutus |
| XCVII | 757 | Div. XI. 3 | Brutus and Cassius to Antony |
| XCVIII | 759 | Att. XVI. 7 | Reasons for returning to Italy. Account of last interview with Brutus |
| XCIX | 764 | Div. XII. 23 | Octavius' attempt on Antony's life |
| C | 767 | Att. XVI. 8 | Octavius' proposals to Cicero |
| CI | 793 | Div. X. 28 | Concerning Antony |
| CII | 809 | „ „ 30 | Battle of Mutina |
| CIII | Not in Schütz | Brut. II. 7 | Capture of C. Antonius. |
| CIV | 816 | Div. XII. 12 | Cassius relates his Asiatic campaign |
| CV | 818 | „ X. 15 | Plancus pursues Antony |
| CVI | 832 | „ XI. 12 | Antony renews the war |
| CVII | 840 | „ X. 35 | Lepidus to the Senate |
| CVIII | 842 | „ XII. 15 | Lentulus' campaign |
| CIX | 846 | „ XI. 24 | Urges Brutus to come to Rome |
| CX | 853 | „ XII. 10 | Asks Cassius to come to Italy |
| CXI | 854 | „ X. 24 | Plancus describes the war |

# CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF CICERO'S SPEECHES AND WRITINGS.

| Years of Cicero's Life. | Speeches. | Writings. |
|---|---|---|
| 26 | Pro P. Quinctio. | |
| 27 | Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino. | ? Rhetorica ad Herennium. |
| 28 | *Pro Muliere Arretina.* | |
| 31 | * Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo. | |
| 32 | *Pro Adolescentibus Siculis.* | |
| 33 | Pro Scamandro (Cluent. xvii.). | |
| 36 | ** Pro L. Vareno. | |
| — | * Pro M. Tullio. | |
| 37 | Pro C. Mustio. | |
| — | In Q. Caecilium. | |
| — | In Verrem, Actio I. | |
| — | ——— Actio II. (not spoken). | |
| 38 | *Pro M. Fonteio. | |
| — | Pro A. Caecina. | |
| 40 | ** Pro P. Oppio. | |
| 41 | Pro Lege Manilia. | |
| — | ** Pro C. Fundanio. | |
| — | Pro A. Cluentio Avito. | |
| 42 | ** Pro C. Manilio. | |
| — | *Pro L. Corvino.* | |
| — | ** Pro C. Cornelio. | |
| 43 | *Pro C. Calpurnio Pisone.* | |
| — | ** Oratio in Toga Candida. | |
| — | ** Pro Q. Gallio. | |
| — | De Lege Agraria, I.–III. | |
| — | ** De L. Roscio Othone. | |
| — | * Pro C. Rabirio. | |
| — | ** De Proscriptorum Liberis. | |
| — | In Catalinam, I.–IV. | |
| 44 | Pro Murena. | |
| 45 | ** Contra Concionem Q. Metelli. | |
| — | Pro P. Cornelio Sulla. | |
| 46 | ** In Clodium et Curionem. | |
| — | Pro A. Licinio Archia. | |
| 47 | Pro Scipione Nasica. | |

| Years of Cicero's Life. | Speeches. | Writings. |
|---|---|---|
| 48 | Pro L. Valerio Flacco. | |
| — | *Pro A. Minucio Thermo.* | |
| 50 | *Pro Ascitio.* | |
| — | *Pro M. Cispio.* | |
| — | Post Reditum in Senatu. | |
| — | Post Reditum ad Quirites. | |
| — | Pro Domo Sua. | |
| 51 | De Haruspicum Responsis. | |
| — | *Pro L. Calpurnio Pisone.* | |
| — | Pro P. Sextio. | |
| — | In Vatinium Interrogatio. | |
| — | Pro M. Caelio Rufo. | |
| — | Pro L. Cornelio Balbo. | |
| — | De Provinciis Consularibus. | |
| — | ** De Rege Alexandrino. | |
| 52 | In L. Pisonem. . . . . | De Oratore. |
| — | ** In A. Gabinium . . . . | Orator. |
| — | Pro Cn. Plancio. | |
| — | *Pro Caninio Gallo.* | |
| 53 | Pro C. Rabirio Postumo. . . | De Republica. |
| — | ** Pro Vatinio. | |
| — | * Pro M. Aemilio Scauro. | |
| — | *Pro Crasso.* | |
| — | *Pro Druso.* | |
| — | *Pro C. Messio.* | |
| 55 | Pro T. Annio Milone. . . | De Legibus. |
| — | *Pro M. Saufeio.* | |
| — | Contra T. Manutium Plancum | |
| 57 | Pro Cornelio Dolabella. . . | De Inventione Rhetorica. De Finibus. |
| 58 | . . . . . . . | De Partitione Oratoria. |
| 60 | Pro M. Marcello. | |
| 61 | Pro Q. Ligario. . . . . | Brutus. Tusculanæ Disputationes. Paradoxa. |
| 62 | Pro Rege Deiotaro. . . . | Hortensius. Academica. |
| 63 | *De Pace.* . . . . . | De Natura Deorum. De Divinatione. De Fato. Topica. De Officiis. Cato Major. Lælius. De Gloria. De Consolatione. |
| — | Philippicæ I.-IV. . . | |
| 64 | Philippicæ V.-XIV. | |

Speeches wholly lost marked in italics. Fragmentary, **; Imperfect, *.

This list is compiled from Dr. Smith's *Biographical Dictionary*.

# CONSULS AT ROME DURING LIFE OF CICERO.

| A.U.C. | Consuls. | |
|---|---|---|
| 648 | C. Atilius Serranus | Q. Servilius Caepio. |
| 649 | P. Rutilius Rufus | Cn. Mallius. |
| 650 | C. Marius II. | C. Flavius Fimbria. |
| 651 | C. Marius III. | L. Aurelius Orestes. |
| 652 | C. Marius IV. | Q. Lutatius Catulus. |
| 653 | C. Marius V. | M'. Aquillius. |
| 654 | C. Marius VI. | L. Valerius Flaccus. |
| 655 | M. Antonius (orator) | A. Postumius Albinus. |
| 656 | Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos | T. Didius. |
| 657 | Cn. Corn. Lentulus | P. Licinius Crassus. |
| 658 | Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus | C. Cassius Longinus. |
| 659 | L. Licinius Crassus | Q. Mucius Scaevola. |
| 660 | C. Caelius Caldus | L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. |
| 661 | C. Valerius Flaccus | M. Herennius. |
| 662 | C. Claudius Pulcher | M. Perpenna. |
| 663 | L. Marcius Philippus | Sext. Julius Caesar. |
| 664 | L. Julius Caesar | P. Rutilius Lupus. |
| 665 | Cn. Pompeius Strabo | L. Porcius Cato. |
| 666 | L. Cornelius Sulla | Q. Pompeius Rufus. |
| 667 | Cn. Octavius | L. Cornelius Cinna. |
| 668 | L. Cornelius Cinna II. | C. Marius VII. |
| 669 | L. Cornelius Cinna III. | Cn. Papirius Carbo. |
| 670 | Cn. Papirius Carbo II. | L. Cornelius Cinna IV. |
| 671 | L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus | C. Junius Norbanus. |
| 672 | C. Marius | Cn. Papirius Carbo III. |
| 673 | M. Tullius Decula | Cn. Cornelius Dolabella. |
| 674 | L. Cornelius Sulla II. | Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius. |
| 675 | P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus | App. Claudius Pulcher. |
| 676 | M. Aemilius Lepidus | Q. Lutatius Catulus. |
| 677 | D. Junius Brutus | Mam. Aemilius Lepidus. |
| 678 | Cn. Octavius | C. Scribonius Curio. |
| 679 | L. Octavius | C. Aurelius Cotta. |
| 680 | L. Licinius Lucullus | M. Aurelius Cotta. |
| 681 | M. Terentius Varro | C. Cassius Varus. |
| 682 | L. Gellius Poplicola | Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Claudianus. |
| 683 | Cn. Aufidius Orestes | P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura. |

| A.U.C. | Consuls. | |
|---|---|---|
| 684 | Cn. Pompeius Magnus . . | M. Licinius Crassus. |
| 685 | Q. Hortensius . . . | Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus. |
| 686 | L. Caecilius Metellus . . | Q. Marcius Rex. |
| 687 | C. Calpurnius Piso . . | M'. Acilius Glabrio. |
| 688 | M. Aemilius Lepidus . . | L. Volcatius Tullus. |
| 689 | L. Aurelius Cotta . . . | L. Manlius Torquatus. |
| 690 | L. Julius Caesar . . . | C. Marcius Figulus. (Thermus.) |
| 691 | M. Tullius Cicero . . . | C. Antonius. |
| 692 | D. Junius Silanus . . . | L. Licinius Murena. |
| 693 | M. Pupius Piso Calpurnianus. | M. Valerius Messala Niger. |
| 694 | L. Afranius . . . . | Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer. |
| 695 | C. Julius Caesar . . . | M. Calpurnius Bibulus. |
| 696 | L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus | A. Gabinius. |
| 697 | P. Cornel. Lentulus Spinther . | Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos. |
| 698 | Cn. Cornel. Lentulus Marcellinus . . . | L. Marcius Philippus. |
| 699 | Cn. Pompeius Magnus II. . | M. Licinius Crassus II. |
| 700 | L. Domitius Ahenobarbus . | App. Claudius Pulcher. |
| 701 | Cn. Domitius Calvinus . . | M. Valerius Messala. |
| 702 | Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. (alone until 1st August) | Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio. |
| 703 | Serv. Sulpicius Rufus . . | M. Claudius Marcellus. |
| 704 | L. Aemilius Paullus . . | C. Claudius Marcellus. |
| 705 | C. Claudius M. F. Marcellus . | L. Corn. Lentulus Crus. |
| 706 | C. Julius Caesar II. . . | P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus. |
| 707 | C. Julius Caesar, Dictator . | M. Antonius, Magister Equitum. |
| 708 | C. Julius Caesar III. . . | M. Aemilius Lepidus. |
| 709 | C. Julius Caesar IV., Dictator . | M. Aemilius Lepidus, Magister Equitum. |
| 710 | C. Julius Caesar V., Dictator . | Marcus Antonius, P. Cornelius Dolabella, Cons. suffectus. |
| 711 | C. Vibius Pansa . . . | Aulus Hirtius. |
| | C. Julius Caesar Octavianus. | C. Carrinas, Q. Pedius, P. Ventidius (suff.) |

# NOTES.

THE LETTERS of Cicero now extant commence with the year A.U.C. 685. Of these letters, eleven were written before his consulship, the tenth of which is given as the first letter of this edition.

It will be convenient to divide the letters of Cicero into the following books, viz.:—

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. | 686–689. | Before his Consulate . . . | Letter | I. of this edition. |
| II. | 692–695. | From his Consulate to his Exile . . . . . . . . | „ | II.–XI. |
| III. | 696–697. | In Exile . . . . . . . . | „ | XII.–XVI. |
| IV. | 697–700. | Before his Proconsulate . . | „ | XVII.–XXX. |
| V. | 703–704. | During his Proconsulate . . | „ | XXXI.–XLII. |
| VI. | 704. | Down to the breaking-out of Civil War . . . . . . | „ | XLIII.–XLVI. |
| VII. | 705–706. | To the Battle of Pharsalia . | „ | XLVII.–LXI. |
| VIII. | 707–710. | From Pharsalia to Death of Caesar . . . . . . . . | „ | LXII.–LXXXV. |
| IX. | 710–711. | After Caesar's Death . . . | „ | LXXXVI.–CXI. |

No letters are preserved from his correspondence during his consulship; and his allusions to public events become very guarded and meagre from the breaking-out of the civil war to the death of Caesar. The Table of Letters and Chronology of Cicero's Life should be constantly consulted. They give a brief abstract of the principal events alluded to in the letters.

### LETTER I.

Cicero describes to Atticus his preliminary canvass for the consulship. He had been praetor the year before, and was now occupied in strengthening his interest with a view to his actual candidature, as was customary. His election could not take place till the following year, two years necessarily elapsing after his praetorship. Of the candidates who were likely to compete with him, the most formidable was Catilina; but he was now under a criminal impeachment, and as his guilt was evident, Cicero had nothing to fear from him, although he was supported by Crassus and Caesar. We see from this letter that he did not much fear any of the other candidates. Antonius afterwards was his own colleague; Thermus the colleague of L. Julius Caesar for the coming year. Cicero

began his *prensatio* on the 17th July, when the Campus was full, on the election of the new tribunes. In order further to strengthen himself, he applied for a *libera legatio* to Cisalpine Gaul, where there were a large and influential body of Roman citizens.

1. *Petitionis nostrae.*] The proper term for this preliminary canvass was *prensatio*. The *petitio* would follow in January of the next year, by which time Cicero intended to have returned from Gaul.

*P. Galba.*] P. Sulpitius Galba. The *most influential* (*unus*) of Cicero's probable competitors. In the oration *Pro Murena*, c. 8, he says, 'Etenim mihi ipsi accidit ut cum duobus patriciis, altero improbissimo atque audacissimo, altero modestissimo atque optimo viro, peterem: superavi tamen dignitate Catilinam, gratia Galbam;' and we see here that Galba was not successful in obtaining promises.

*Sine fuco ac fallaciis.*] They refused him openly, 'more majorum,' without deluding him by worthless promises, which they did not mean to keep. They honestly told him that they considered themselves pledged to Cicero, whose cause was thus rather promoted than injured by Galba's prensation, which was 'praepropera,' having commenced apparently too soon, before any of the comitia of the year; and was, perhaps, also invidious, by being conducted from house to house; whereas Cicero determined to wait till the people were assembled in the Campus Martius, at the comitia tribunicia.

*Cincius.*] Steward of Atticus.

*Comitiis tribuniciis.*] See *Dict. of Antiqq.*, or the excellent account of the comitia in Ramsay's *Roman Antiquities*, chap. iv.

*Antonius.*] C. Antonius, second son of M. Antonius the orator: served with Sulla in Asia: praetor and consul with Cicero: afterwards implicated in the Catilinian conspiracy. He commanded the army sent against Catiline, but devolved the actual command of it on M. Petreius. Was afterwards in exile at Cephallenia, in consequence of his maladministration of the province of Macedonia. Was probably recalled by Caesar.

*Q. Cornificius.*] Previously tribune of plebs, and one of the jury at the trial of Verres.

*Ut frontem ferias.*] As a mark of indignation that men of such insignificance should be competitors. Schütz connects 'ut frontem ferias' with 'Sunt, qui,' &c., because the preceding perfects would require *ferires*. But they may well be taken in a present sense.

*Caesonius*, M.] Displayed great integrity at the trial of Cluentius. Probably praetor in the same year with Cicero.

All these three were men of good character and respectable position. Cicero speaks lightly of their political influence.

*Aquillius*, Gallus.] A famous lawyer. He declined candidature on the ground of bad health, and the occupations of his legal 'kingdom,' in which he was, as it were, lord paramount.

*Catilina.*] Now impeached by Clodius of 'repetundae,' on his return from his province of Africa. His guilt is here spoken of as certain; and yet, a few weeks later, Cicero says: 'Hoc tempore Catilinam, competitorem nostrum, defendere cogitabamus. Judices habemus quos voluimus, summa accusatoris voluntate.' (*Ad Att.* i. 2.) Cicero was not unwilling, by a cheap inconsistency, to compromise with Catiline. It

does not appear that he did defend him. Clodius 'praevaricated,' and the case fell through: 'A Catilina pecuniam accepit ut turpissime praevaricaretur.' (*Or. de Har. Resp.* 20.)

*Aufidius.*] Nothing certain is known of this competitor.

*Palicanus.*] M. Lollius. He was a man of such bad character that, three years after, C. Piso the consul refused, if he should be elected, to return him.

2. *Caesar.*] L. Julius. Consul the following year with Thermus, otherwise, by adoption, C. Marcius Figulus. This Caesar was uncle of M. Antonius, the triumvir. In Gaul as legate to Caesar; included in the proscription by Antony, but spared by the intercession of Julia.

*Silanus.*] Consul three years afterwards.

*Curium obducere.*] Cicero describes Thermus and Silanus as so contemptible as candidates, that he could bring even Curius against them with some chance of success; though he goes on to speak of Thermus in very complimentary terms. This Q. Curius is mentioned only as a friend of Catiline by whom the conspiracy was betrayed. (Sall. *Cat.* xxiii. 28.) *Obducere*; adversarium adducere.

*Nostris rationibus.*] Cicero wishes Thermus to be successful this year, that he might then be out of his way when his own candidature began. Thermus had gained popularity by his repair of the Flaminian Road, as Caesar did by repairing the Appian Way. He was afterwards propraetor of Asia. (Letter xxxiv. 2.) The next sentence is obscure. Schütz's reading, 'quae tum erit absoluta facile. Eo libens Thermum Caesari Consulem accedere viderim,' makes good sense, but is not absolutely necessary. Cicero's meaning probably is: 'Not only those who are now his friends, but others too, will probably support him when he has actually finished his work.' His popularity was already considerable, and was likely to become much greater.

*Gallia.*] Gallia Togata was reduced to a province some time after B.C. 190. It was divided into Cispadana and Transpadana. With Macedonia, it was most coveted by the consuls as a wealthy province, and of the highest political importance, as appears from the fact that Caesar, as well as Cicero, made it a stepping-stone to the consulship. 'T. Labienum Galliae Togatae praefecit, quo majore commendatione conciliaretur ad consulatus petitionem.' (*Bell. Gall.* viii. 52.) At what period Gallia Togata received the franchise is not certain. In B.C. 43 it was incorporated in Italy, and ceased to be a province.

*Legati.*] He meant to apply for a 'libera legatio.' See Merivale's note on Abeken's *Life and Letters of Cicero*, p. 38.

*Pisonem.*] C. Calpurnius Piso was at this time, for the second year, proconsul of *Gallia Narbonensis*, generally called *Provincia*, a province since B.C. 121.

*Illam manum.*] The nobles who had followed Pompey to the Mithridatic War. He begs Atticus to dispose of them for him, to prevent their being competitors against him for the consulship. Atticus was now in the neighbourhood of Pompey's camp.

3. *P. Vario.*] Supposed to have been a money lender. This Varius had defrauded Caecilius, Atticus's uncle, and his other creditors (among whom were L. Licinius Lucullus, and P. Scipio, the adopted son of Metellus Pius), by assigning all his property to his brother Satrius, against

whom the creditors were now about to bring an action under the law of Aquillius. If they could prove that the assignment had been fraudulent, the arrangement fell to the ground, and the praetor would then appoint a *magister auctionis* to receive the proceeds of the sale of the bankrupt's property. Cicero was asked to prosecute Satrius, but hesitated, because Satrius and his friend Domitius were very intimate with him; and his refusal gave Caecilius great offence.

This *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus* was afterwards distinguished for his defence of Corfinium and Massilia. He fell at the battle of Pharsalia.

4. *Sine eo, quem.*] Even though Caecilius employed no advocate for himself, yet the creditors were men of such high position, that they could easily carry their suit without Cicero's assistance; while he wished to keep clear of the suit, both on account of his position as a candidate (*tempori*), and from motives of private friendship (*officio*).

ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερήϊον.] 'For the prize I am running for is no light one.' The quotation is from the description of Hector's flight from Achilles. The two ran with all their strength:—

> ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερήϊον, οὐδὲ βοείην
> ἀρνύσθην, ἅ τε ποσσὶν ἀέθλια γίγνεται ἀνδρῶν,
> ἀλλὰ περὶ ψυχῆς θέον Ἕκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο.
>
> *Il.* xxii. 159.

Virgil has imitated the lines:—

> Neque enim levia aut ludicra petuntur
> Praemia, sed Turni de vita et sanguine certant.
>
> *Æn.* xii. 764.

5. ἡλίου ἀνάθημα.] These words are doubtful. Casaubon proposed illius ἀνάθημα, 'its own shrine.' Compare, on the same subject, *Att.* I. iv. 3; 'Et ornamentum Academiae proprium meae; quod et Hermes commune omnium et Minerva singulare est insigne ejus gymnasii.' The *Hermathena* was a four-cornered pedestal (Hermes) surmounted by a bust of Athene.

---

## Second Division of Letters.

## FROM CICERO'S CONSULATE TO HIS EXILE.

### Letters II.-XI.

### Letter II.

Between the date of this letter and the preceding had intervened Cicero's consulship, the conspiracy and death of Catiline. Pompey, after the termination of the Mithridatic War, was still in Asia, whither Cicero had written him a full account, in a letter not preserved, of his doings as consul, to which Pompey seems to have replied very coldly. He expresses his disappointment in the present letter, arguing that he had expected a warmer return for his past support of Pompey. We must remember that it was of great importance to Cicero, at this time, to preserve the friendship and support of Pompey. His conduct in the affair of Catiline was already canvassed hostilely, especially by Metellus Nepos the tribune, supported by Caesar. Caesar had recently brought forward a rogation to empower Pompey to finish the Capitol. This was

frustrated by the nobles; who, led by Cato, drove Metellus from the city, and suspended Caesar from his praetorship. These steps were no doubt approved by Cicero; and Pompey was naturally inclined to throw himself on the side of Caesar and Crassus, who had also been alienated by the nobles, and accused Cicero of having calumniated him. Cicero himself, although willing to keep on good terms with Pompey and Caesar, had virtually attached himself to the faction of the aristocracy.

1. The opening sentence is, 'Si tu exercitusque valetis bene est. Ego valeo.'

*Literis.*] To the senate. *Literae* was applied both to official and private correspondence, *epistola* to the latter only. Sometimes the term *epistola* was used of the letter, *literae* of its contents, as in *Q. Fr.* iii. 1: 'Venio nunc ad tuas literas, quas pluribus epistolis accepi;' though the distinction is not always preserved. Pompey had written immediately after the end of the war, and the news of his success gave the 'spem otii' of which Cicero speaks.

*Veteres hostes.*] Men of the popular party, such as Lucullus, Catulus, and Calpurnius Piso.

3. *Ne cujus animum offenderes.*] Alluding to Caesar and Crassus, who were opposed to Cicero. They were both suspected of having favoured Catiline.

*Laelium.*] The friendship between Africanus Minor and C. Laelius is often mentioned by Cicero. See especially the dialogue *De Amicitia.*

## Letter III.

This letter contains an allusion to Pompey's first speech in the senate after his return from Asia. Cicero had sent a previous letter to Atticus, giving a full account of it. He seems to have praised the senate, without paying any particular compliments to Cicero; which led Crassus to speak in exaggerated terms of Cicero's merits, and Cicero himself to deliver a turgid oration in praise of the senate and knights. The affair of Clodius was at this moment the matter of chief political importance at Rome, and is mentioned in this and the following letter. The senate had determined to bring Clodius to trial, for his sacrilege on the occasion of the feast of *Bona Dea* at Caesar's house. They required the praetor to bring the matter before the people, and to choose the judges himself. This was opposed by the Consul Piso, though supported by Cato. Cicero was neutral. Pompey refrained from offending many influential nobles who were connected with Clodius. Clodius, supported by the tribune Fufius Calenus, Piso, and Curio, strained every nerve to defeat the rogation. The result was, that the judges were chosen by lot from the *decuriae judicum*, were bribed by Crassus, and acquitted Clodius by a majority of thirty-one to twenty-five.

During these proceedings Pompey was waiting for his triumph outside the gates of the city, and the meetings of the senate were held in the Circus Flaminius or in the Campus Martius. Compare xxxvi. 5.

1. *Scripsi ad te antea.*] This letter is lost.

*Pisonis.*] Piso opposed the rogation concerning Clodius, and put forward Fufius Calenus to ascertain Pompey's opinion on the legality of the praetor's choosing his own *judices*. See the introduction to this letter.

*Circo Flaminio.*] See introduction. This circus was built by Flaminius, the architect of the *Via Flaminia.* It was ornamented by Lucullus with spoils from his Mithridatic triumph.

*Nundinarum.*] The nundinae were originally *feriae*, but afterwards were made *dies fasti*, on which *comitia* might legally be held.

*Quo consilio.*] Quibus judicibus.

2. γενικῶς.] Generaliter. Pompey went into no particulars, but allowed it to be understood that he approved of the conduct of the senate, and of Cicero's actions.

3. *Aristarchus.*] He was a grammarian of Alexandria, tutor to the sons of Ptolemy Philometer. Died at Cyprus B.C. 157. His name became a synonyme for a severe critic. See Hor. *A. P.* 450.

ληκύθους.] 'Ampullas.' Hor. *A. P.* 97.

*Literis.*] Not 'epistolis.' See note on sec. 1. He seems especially to allude to his oration, *Pro Lege Manilia*, in which he attributed the conclusion of the Servile War entirely to Pompey passing over Crassus.

4. *Aperte.*] Cicero accepted in express terms (*aperte*) what Pompey had hinted in his favour obscurely (*tecte*).

'Ενεπερπερευσάμην.] Me jactavi. He wanted to give Pompey a favorable display of his oratory, and therefore indulged in long rounded sentences, in sudden transitions, in suggestive arguments, and regularly stated syllogisms. He praised the senate for its resolution in decreeing the punishment of Catiline and the conspirators; the knights for the support which they had given the senate; Italy for its approval of their measures; and dilated also on the prosperity and tranquillity of his consulship.

*Intermortuis.*] 'Fractis.' Half dead. In his oration against Piso, he accuses the Clodiani of having got together their followers 'ex intermortuis Catilinae reliquiis (c. 7).

*Istim.*] He says he declaimed so loudly that Atticus must have heard him all the way from Epirus.

5. Ἄρειος πάγος.] The senate has shown itself a perfect Areiopagus. In the next letter, sect. 5, he calls the *judices* of Clodius Areiopagitae sarcastically.

*Concursabant.*] Note on xx. 3.

*Filiola Curionis.*] C. Scribonius Curio, son of Curio (below), afterwards, with Antonius, the great partisan of Caesar at the commencement of the Civil War. Cicero calls him 'filiola,' in allusion to his effeminacy and his corrupt intimacy with Antonius, which he describes in *Phil.* ii. 18.

*Operae Clodianae.*] The hired voters of Clodius, or his gangs of ruffians. See xix. 3.

*Pontes.*] See *Dict. of Antiqq.* under 'Comitia,' or Ramsay, p. 108. In this case both the tabellae given to the voters by the diribitores were inscribed U.R. so that they could only vote in one way.

*Favonius.*] An imitator of Cato, like the Pseudocato Cornutus, mentioned below. See on vi. 9.

*Curioni.*] Curio the elder. He had been a lieutenant of Sulla, and was an intimate friend of Cicero's. He supported Clodius on this occasion. He was generally a supporter of the Optimates.

*Concessit.*] Finding the matter carried he withdrew his opposition to the bill.

*Comperisse omnia.*] This was a favourite taunt against Cicero, arising

from his frequent boast that he had discovered the whole conspiracy of Catiline. He alludes to it in a letter to C. Antonius. 'Nam *comperisse* me non audeo dicere, ne forte id ipsum verbum ponam quod abs te aiunt falso in me solere conferri' (*Div.* v. 5); and quotes from a conversation of his with Catulus. (*Acad. Quaest.* iv. 19.)

6. *Messala.*] M. Valerius Messala, nephew of Hortensius, is frequently mentioned favourably by Cicero. Was condemned under the Licinian law of bribery, ten years later, after his canvass for the consulship. See xxvi. 4.

*Uno vitio.*] In comparison with his one great vice of indolence and timidity, all his other vices seemed nothing.

*Pseudocatone.*] Cornutus seems to have been an imitator of Cato, just as P. Servilius was (see note on v. 9). He was friendly to Cicero, and exerted himself to procure his return from exile.

7. Τεῦκρις.] Many editors suppose C. Antonius (see note on i. 1.) to be meant, who aided Atticus in his Sicyonian money matters (iv. 16). Schütz on the other hand shows that Cicero often mentions Antonius by name, and in the same letter (*Att.* i. 12) with Τεῦκρις. He supposes either some usurer or rich woman to be meant, who had promised Cicero to lend him a large sum of money if he would defend C. Antonius, who was in danger of being recalled from Macedonia. See *Att.* i. 12.

*Argiletani.*] Argiletum (see Virg. *Aen.* viii. 341), a fashionable quarter, near the Palatine. Of this property Quintus Cicero had already received three-fourths by legacy, and he had purchased the remaining fourth.

*Lucceius.*] He was seriously offended with Atticus, Cicero says for a trifling cause. (*Att.* i. 10.)

*Petiturire.*] Compare 'Lucceium scito consulatum habere in animo statim petere.' (*Ad Att.* i. 17, ad fin.) *Peto* used in its technical sense. See i. 1. He was thinking of being a candidate for the consulship, and Cicero was determined to support him. See vi. 9.

## Letter IV.

Cicero describes the progress and result of the trial of Clodius (see introduction to Letter iii.) and his altercations with Clodius in the senate. His own position he considers as improved, and his friendship with Pompey confirmed. But the truth was far otherwise. By his attacks on Clodius he brought on himself his own misfortunes, and the trial of Clodius had occasioned a lasting breach between the senate and the knights, with whom Cicero constantly identified himself.

1. Ὁμηρικῶς.] Hysteron proteron is described by the grammarians as a favourite Homeric figure, which may be illustrated by such a passage as 'γαμέοντί τε γιγνομένῳ τε,' *Od.* iv. 208. Cicero applies it here, in rather a different sense, to his answering the latter of two questions first. It seems rather to refer to Homer's plan in his poems of going at once 'in medias res.'

*Ad conciones confugisset.*] See Epist. iii. 5. In reply to Clodius Cicero attacked Piso and Curio for supporting him.

2. *Judicum genus.*] The senate proposed that the praetor should select his own jurymen; Fufius that they should be elected in the ordinary way from the *decuriae judicum*. The praetor's selection would naturally have given a better class of men. Hortensius feared that Fufius would oppose any extraordinary mode of procedure, and thought that Clodius

would be condemned with any jury; 'a leaden sword,' he said, 'would be enough to cut his throat.'

*Inopiam judicum.*] The poverty and consequent bribery of the *judices* was so plain, that Cicero confined himself to giving his testimony, against an attempt of Clodius to prove an *alibi*, that he had seen Clodius at his own house at the very time at which he said he was at Interamna, a distance of ninety miles from Rome.

*Illum in infamia.*] For if Fufius had merely stopped proceedings Clodius would still have been under suspicion, which would have been better than that he should be acquitted by a corrupt jury.

3. *Clamoribus.*] The people were indignant at Clodius's rejection of all the good men. The accuser was Lentulus, a tribune of the plebs.

*Lanista.*] A master of gladiators, in picking pairs to fight before the people, would naturally spare his best men.

*Maculosi.*] *Senatores* branded with the nota censoria, *equites* who had not the proper amount of income, *tribuni aerarii*, who were really *aerarii*, men fit only to be placed among the *aerarii* or *capite censi*, not *aerati* or possessed of any money. We may preserve the joke by saying, 'Not men of means, but mean men.' The *tribuni aerarii* were the paymasters of the troops and dispensed public moneys to the quaestors when entering on their provinces. The *judices* were at this time, in consequence of a law of L. Aurelius Cotta, chosen from these three orders. Compare xxvii. 3.

4. *Postulationibus.*] Applications for the production of certain necessary witnesses, or any other matter connected with the trial.

*Audisse.*] Take this with *te*. The clause 'ex acclamatione' depends on 'quae facta sit.' The judices threw themselves between Clodius and Cicero to protect him.

*Acclamatione.*] Of those who were for rejecting Cicero's evidence.

*Tui cives.*] Athenienses, in allusion to the name of Atticus, and his Greek tastes and education.

*Xenocrates.*] A scholar of Plato. The story is told by Diog. Laërtius. Cicero alludes to it in his oration *Pro Balbo*, sec. 5, and also to the anecdote about *Metellus*, the predecessor of Marius in the Jugurthan War.

5. *Areopagitæ.*] Note on iii. 5. They pretended to be afraid of violence; but Catulus told them they were afraid of losing their money.

*Consilium.*] Consilium judicum.

Ἔσπετε.] Hom. *Iliad.* xv. 112. ὅππως δὴ πρῶτον πῦρ ἔμπεσε νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν.

*Calvum.*] Cicero means Crassus, of whose laudatory speech he had written in Ep. iii. 3. He was nicknamed Calvus because he bought the property of one Nanneius, a proscript, in Sulla's time, and gave his name as the purchaser, Licinius Calvus. It was he who bribed the judices in this case.

*Catulus.*] Q. Lutatius Catulus, son of Marius's colleague. Consul, B.C. 78. Defeated Lepidus at the Mulvian Bridge. Dedicated the Capitol, on which his name remained till its conflagration at the end of the reign of Vitellius (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 72.) He was at this time *princeps senatus* and the acknowledged leader of the Optimates. He died the next year B.C. 60.

6. *Thalnam.*] Perhaps these were real names, probably fictitious. They may have been common names among the poorer citizens.

8. *Aliis legi.*] To be read *to* any one else. The same phrase occurs, *Ad Att.* xvi. 13. xv. 1, 2.

*Syriam.*] Piso it appears had got the promise of this province; but it had not yet been decreed him. Ultimately he got no province.

Ἀγῶνα.] He speaks as if Atticus were really an Athenian. So 'cives tui,' in sect. 4.

9. *Lentulum.*] P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura was tried for peculation after his quaestorship, B.C. 81, and after on some charge now unknown. He was put to death with the other Catilinarian conspirators.

*Catilinam.*] Catilina was twice acquitted. 1. Of repetundae. 2. Of complicity in the death of Gratidianus.

*Quod erat, inventum est.*] The friends of Clodius had been forced to show themselves by his trial, and thus the real enemies of the state were discovered.

10. *Pulchellus.*] Alluding to the effeminacy of his appearance and his family cognomen 'Pulcher.'

*Me ad Baias fuisse.*] He taunts Cicero, as a rustic from Arpinum, with effeminacy and imitation of the fashions of the Roman aristocracy, whose favourite watering-place was Baiae. Cicero replies that even if he had been at Baiae it was not to hide himself as Clodius had done in ~~Cicero's~~ Caesar's house.

*Patrono tuo.*] Curio, who had bought the villa of Marius at Baiæ, who was also a native of Arpinum. If Marius then could have a villa at Baiae, why should not Cicero? The fact that Cicero and Marius were townsmen was dwelt on with pride by Cicero himself. It is noticed in the well known lines of Juvenal, *Sat.* viii. 237, 245. This interpretation of this passage is confirmed by Cicero himself in his oration *In P. Clodium et C. Curionem*, c. 4. 'Nec enim respexit (Clodius) illum ipsum patronum libidinis suae non modo apud Baias esse, verum eas ipsas aquas habere quae gustu tamen Arpinatis fuissent.' (Orell. p. 335, quoted from Matthiae.) Schütz explains 'patronus' of Clodia. So does Middleton; but the sense thus given is very unnatural.

*Rex.*] Q. Marcius Rex, brother-in-law of Clodius, had passed over Clodius in his will.

11. *Missus est sanguis.*] Compare 'Dandus invidiae est sanguis,' Liv. iii. 5. Cicero considers the ill-will of his enemies to have been partially satisfied by the contempt cast on his testimony by the acquittal of Clodius.

*Concionalis.*] Compare xxi. 4, 'concionario populo.'

*Comissatores conjurationis.*]. The reliquiae of Catiline's conspiracy, viz. the party of Clodius, who came out as it were to riot in the streets like a band of revellers (κῶμος) after their supper was over. Compare the fine simile of Aeschylus, who compares the Furies of the house of Atreus to a κῶμος who will not leave the house even after their feast is over.

> καὶ μὴν πεπωκώς γ', ὡς θρασύνεσθαι πλέον,
> βρότειον αἷμα κῶμος ἐν δόμοις μένει,
> δύσπεμπτος ἔξω, ξυγγόνων Ἐρινύων.
>
> *Agam.* 1188-1190.

*Pastoricia fistula.*] Sibilo.

12. *Comitiorum.*] The consular elections were approaching, and

Pompey succeeded in carrying the election of L. Afranius, who had served under him in Asia, and afterwards in the civil war commanded the Spanish army, with Petreius, against Caesar. Cicero speaks of him in the next letter, sec. 4, as utterly worthless. Pompey trusted merely to money to bring him in.

*Consul.*] The consul Piso was supposed to be distributing bribes in favour of Afranius at his own house. Cato and Domitius (Ahenobarbus) proposed to give the praetor powers to enter the consul's house in his investigation of the affair (ut apud magistratus inquiri liceret), which he could not do without a *senatus consultum.* The words 'cujus modi .... rempublicam' depend on 'inquiri.' The investigation was to be, 'what distribution of money was really going on against the law in the consul's house.'

*Doterionis.*] Piso is supposed to be compared to Doterio on account of his unpleasant manner in debate. Some think that there is an allusion to Piso's bribery in a play upon the word δοτήριος.

13. *Lege Aelia et Fufia.*] The lex Aelia contained three clauses: 1. Ut auspicato omnia fierent in comitiis. 2. Ut obnuntiatione facta dirimirentur comitia. 3. Ut liberum esset intercedere, quibus intercedendi jus erat. Lurco appears to have been lame, and this personal defect might be a bar to his bringing in a measure *auspicato*, in conformity with clause 2. He seems to have been specially released by the Senate from this law, and also from the Fufia, which limited the introduction of laws to certain days. So Cicero says jocosely that although he was lame he brought forward his law *de ambitu* 'auspicato,' or 'bono auspicio.' The second clause of the Aelian law was very important, as we shall see under the phrase 'servare de coelo' (xix. 3).

*Novi.*] The new feature of Lurco's bill was that mere *promises* of money should go unpunished. Clodius thus would get off, as he never kept his promises.

*Fama imum.*] Schütz reads 'fabulam mimum,' 'a mere farce.'

*Facteon.*] A verbal formed after Greek fashion.

14. *In Asiam.*] He had thought of going as *legatus* to Q. Cicero. Cicero is afraid that his refusal will give offence.

15. *Amaltheo.*] A gymnasium in Atticus's estate in Epirus, named after Amalthaea, the foster nurse of Jupiter, the patron of the Roman people. Atticus adorned this study with busts of distinguished men, with epigrams inscribed under them. Cicero says that, as for laudatory verses, he must be contented with Atticus's epigram written under his bust, although he had wished for some verses by Chilius or Archias. But Chilius had left Rome; and Archias was now occupied in a laudatory poem on the Metelli (of the gens Caecilia), having finished a Greek poem on the exploits of Lucullus in the Mithridatic War.

16. *Antonio.*] C. Antonius, Cicero's colleague as consul, was then proconsul of Macedonia. He had helped Atticus to get in his money from his Sicyonian debtors.

*Manlius.*] A merchant.

*Venditavi.*] Commendavi.

17. *Cincius.*] See Ep. i. 1.

18. *Lubet mihi facere.*] Cicero thought of making a similar Ἀμαλθεῖον in his villa at Arpinum.

## Letter V.

The chief topics of this letter are the threatened outbreak of the Gallic War; the agrarian law of the Tribune Flavius; and Cicero's own relations to Pompey. Pompey's triumph had now been celebrated with greater magnificence than had before been witnessed at Rome; but he could not prevail on the senate to ratify his acts in Asia. He caused Flavius to propose an agrarian law for the distribution of land among his veterans, which was violently opposed by the Senate. Cicero contented himself with guarding the interests of the then 'possessors,' without openly opposing the bill. Great tumults accompanied the discussion of this measure, Flavius proceeding so far as to imprison the consul Metellus; but at length it was thrown out, Pompey seeing the inexpediency of pushing his claims at the moment. In sect. 2 Cicero notices the first threatenings of the Gallic War; and in sect. 5 we have the first notice of Clodius's adoption into the plebs. This he sought as a step to the tribunate, which he intended to use to crush Cicero. Caesar supported him, and probably Pompey, though with certain precautions intended to protect Cicero, which proved unavailing. The various steps in these proceedings, and the measures of Clodius, will come under notice in the following letters.

2. *Ædui.*] See Caesar, 'fratres consanguineosque saepenumero a senatu appellatos.' (*Bell. Gall.* i. 31.) This was the first rumour of the great movement of the Helvetii, which actually took place two years afterwards, and is the first event related in Caesar's history of his Gallic campaigns. On Gaul, see Merivale, *Fall of the Roman Republic*, c. x.

*Ut consules.*] The consuls were to limit their choice of provinces to the two Galliae.

*Legati.*] Plenipotentiaries were generally appointed—one of consular, one of praetorian rank, and one senator.

*Q. Metellus Creticus.*] So called from his conquests in Crete, B.C. 69.

*L. Flaccus.*] Who had been praetor during Cicero's consulship.

*Lentulus.*] His name gave occasion to Cicero's pun; φακῄ; lens. As it would spoil myrrh to mix lentils with it, so the addition of Lentulus did no good to the commission.

3. *Retinendum me.*] This was a great and deserved compliment.

4. *Agraria lex.*] See the introduction to this letter.

*Liberabam eum agrum.*] Viz. from the operation of the law. 1. The land which had been distributed by Tiberius Gracchus B.C. 133 (Mucio et Calpurnio coss.). 2. The land in Etruria allotted by Sulla. 3. The land of Volaterrae and Arretium.

*Ex novis vectigalibus.*] The nations lately reduced and made *vectigales* by Pompey. This money was farmed by publicani, who paid for it by public auction every fifth year.

*Quid emerit.*] See note on iv. 12.

5. *P. Clodio.*] See introduction. *Frequenter*; a multis tribunis. Compare 'Romam inde frequenter migratum est,' Liv. i. 11.

6. *Nonarum Decembrium.*] The day on which the Catilinarians had been put to death. He speaks of this day often. Compare 'Quem ego

diem vere natalem hujus urbis aut certe salutarem appellare possum.' (*Pio Flacco*, c. 40.)

*Publicanos.*] The chief complaints of the equites were: 1. That after the manifest corruption of many of their order in the trial of Clodius, the senate had passed a decree for inquiry into the bribery then practised. 2. That the senate had refused to annul the contract by which the publicani for Asia had incurred a serious loss. See this well drawn out by Abeken, pp. 68, 69. 3. Another ground of complaint was the *senatus consultum* 'de populis liberis,' for which see sect. 9 and vi. 10.

*Piscinarios.*] Fish culture was a favourite and engrossing occupation of the Roman nobles, such as Hortensius and Lucullus. Compare Ep. vi. 7. In viii. 1 he calls them 'piscinarum Tritones.'

7. *Pompeium.*] Compare vi. 6, on Pompey's testimony to Cicero; and 'Mihi quidem certe vir abundans bellicis laudibus, Cn. Pompeius, multis audientibus, hoc tribuit, ut diceret, frustra se triumphum tertium deportaturum fuisse, nisi meo in rempublicam beneficio ubi triumpharet esset habiturus.' (*De Off.* i. 22.) Pompey found himself repulsed by the nobles, and was no doubt endeavouring, by courting the good-will of Cicero, to regain his ground. Cicero flattered himself that these overtures were sincere, but was doomed to find himself abandoned by Pompey in his hour of danger. See an admirable summary of the relations of the chief men of Rome at this time in Abeken, book ii. p. 76.

9. *Tuo negotio.*] Pecunia a Sicyoniis exprimenda. Cf. iv. 16.

*Pedariorum.*] Senators who had held no curule offices (opposed here to '*nostrum*'), and who took no part in the discussions on *senatus consulta*, but merely 'pedibus ibant in sententiam.' This *senatus consultum* seems to have provided that the Sicyonians should not be forced to pay by public prosecution.

*Esse ad scribendum.*] After a *senatus consultum* was passed, it was written out (*proscriptum*). Its supporters superintended this (*scribendo adfuerunt*), and their names were given in the document. We have an instance in xxxvi. 5. Cicero explains that while he assented to the *senatus consultum* generally, the particular clause of which Atticus complains was an addition to the original bill, added by P. Servilius, who in vi. 10 is called 'Catonis aemulator.' He attacks Pompey in the affair of Milo. (xxi. 2.)

*Conventus.*] The senators who had been endeavouring by a joint protest to defeat the bill.

10. *Lucullus.*] He had written an account of his Marsian War in Greek.

*τίς πατέρ' αἰνήσει;*] The full proverb is, *τίς πατέρ' αἰνήσει εἰ μὴ κακοδαίμονες υἱοί*; Men who are worthless in themselves are apt to fall back on the deeds of their ancestors. Cicero kept harping on his consulate; and Atticus might ask, Why are you not doing something great now?

## Letter VI.

This letter again touches on the proceedings of Clodius, on the agrarian law of Flavius, and on Cicero's relations to Pompey and Caesar,

besides various private matter. We have here the first mention of Caesar's name; and it is an interesting point, that Cicero seems purposely in all his calculations to ignore the one man on whose fortunes and will the destinies of the State were to hinge. A cordial appreciation and support of Caesar might have given a very different turn to Cicero's own fortunes, and to the course of public events.

1. *Gladiatores.*] Gladiatorial shows.

*Commentarium.*] Written by Atticus. See v. 10. Cicero's opinion of it is not flattering, at least in comparison with his own treatise. This work is mentioned by Cornelius Nepos in his life of Atticus.

*Isocrati.*] Isocrates, as well as Aristotle, wrote on Rhetoric.

*Attigisti.*] Atticus had read the book hurriedly at Corcyra. It was, at all events, privately distributed already, for we see below that it had been read by Posidonius of Rhodes, a stoic philosopher, and friend of Cicero and Pompey. He died at Rome about ten years after this time.

3. *Oratiunculas.*] Of these twelve orations here enumerated by Cicero, those *De Othone, De prosc. filiis, Quum provinciam,* &c., and the last *De Lege Agraria,* are lost. He classes all as 'consulares,' delivered during his consulship, giving them this name in imitation of the *Philippics* of Demosthenes. How Cicero's own latest speeches (against Antony) came to be called *Philippicae* is an obscure question. The only places in Cicero's correspondence which give them this name are two passages in his (doubtful) letters to Brutus, ii. 4, 2. ii. 5, 4, where the title is said to have originated in a joke of Cicero's. They are called *Philippicae* by Plutarch (*Cic.* 48), who says that Cicero himself gave them this name, and by Quintilian (iii. 8, 46). Others called them Antonianae.

*Civis ille tuus.*] Cf. iv. 4.

*In senatu.*] On the Agrarian Law, preserved under the title *Contra Rullum.* A law which virtually would have placed the whole control of the state in the hands of Pompey and a decemvirate. It was rejected. This oration and the second are extant.

*De Othone.*] This speech was in favour of the famous law of L. Roscius Otho, which assigned to the equites their quatuordecim ordines at the public spectacles, immediately behind the senators. This law is alluded to by Juvenal, 'Sic libitum vano, qui nos distinxit, Othoni,' iii. 159; and Horace:

> Sedilibusque magnus in primis eques,
> Othone contempto, sedet.' *Epod.* iv. 16.

The speech is lost.

*Pro Rabirio.*] Tried and convicted, in spite of Cicero's speech, still extant, on the charge of *perduellio,* for the murder of Saturninus the tribune. He was saved by the praetor, Q. Metellus Celer, who removed the flag from the Janiculum.

*De proscriptorum filiis.*] These were the sons of the adherents of Marius, proscribed by Cinna. Cicero, during the Catiline conspiracy, opposed their attempts to recover their position, because he feared their vengeance on the other party. The speech is lost.

*Quum provinciam deposui.*] Cicero declined the province of Gallia

Citerior, and gave the choice of provinces to his colleague Antonius. This speech is lost.

*Septima.*] The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth were the four orations against Catiline.

*Nonis Decemb.*] See note on v. 6.

*Duae breves.*] One of these is the third oration *contra Rullum.* The other is lost.

*Aut ne poposcisses.*] 'Or if you do not like this you ought not to have asked for it.'

4. *Describere*] Distribuere, ordinare iter.

*Pulchelli.*] Note on iv. 10.

*Metellus.*] The consul. He was the husband of Clodia, sister of Clodius. Compare v. 4.

5. *In Sicilia.*] Clodius had been quaestor in Sicily the year before.

*Septimo die.*] Clodius boasted that he had come from Sicily to Rome in seven days, so unostentatiously that no one came to meet him as he entered Rome by night. Cicero replied that he had done more than that previously, when he came to Rome from Interamna in three hours, and no one met him to hinder his entrance into Caesar's house. Note on iv. 2.

*Siculis.*] Clodius asked Cicero whether he gave his Sicilian clients places to witness the gladiatorial shows. It was a common practice to reserve seats for tribesmen or friends. Thus Cicero defends Muraena, who was accused of having done this for purposes of corruption. (*Pro Mur.* 34.) Clodius says that he, their new patron, will introduce the practice, 'although my sister, who as the wife of the consul has so much room to spare, will give me only a single foot.' Cicero replies by a coarse joke.

*Consularem.*] Clodia, the consul's wife.

*Seditiosa.*] 'Quarrelsome'—refers to her intriguing character, or to her quarrels with her husband. Compare Terent. *Andr.* v. 1. 11: 'Filiam dare in seditionem atque in incertas nuptias.'

6. *Agraria lege.*] See Introduction to Ep. v. and note on 4.

*Molli brachio.*] Leviter. Comp. 'levi brachio,' *Att.* iv. 15. On Cicero's friendship with Pompey and Caesar, see Introduction and note on v. 7.

7. *Equitatus.*] The knights, whom Cicero had united with the senate. The senate met in the temple of Concord. On the breach between them and the knights, and on 'piscinis,' see note on v. 6.

8. *Catonem.*] Cato and the oligarchy were elated by the check they had given to Pompey (Introd. to Ep. v.) and the absence of Caesar in Spain: and Cicero was annoyed at the preference shown by the optimates for Cato. Still his remark on Cato's character is just. He was an impracticable politician, and did not perceive the contrast between the existing state, the mere dregs, as it were, of Romulus's commonwealth, and his ideal of the Old Republic. So, Cicero says, Cato was right in the case of the *senatus consultum* against the bribery of the judices (iv. 13), and in that of the equites who wished to annul their Asiatic contract (v. 6), but Cicero had opposed him, because the interests of the knights were at stake in both cases, 'retinendi ordinis causa,' because he wished to retain the good will of their party, and for this purpose was ready to make some sacrifice (*jactura*) of principle.

*Consule in carcere incluso.*] By Flavius. (Introduction to Letter v.) At this juncture the knights, who had hitherto been staunch supporters of the consuls, did not even breathe in his defence, did not make a single sign.

*Mercede.*] Alluding to the case of bribery.

*An libertinis.*] If Cicero lost the support of the knights, he would be obliged to fall back on the populace.

*ἅλις σπουδῆς.*] 'I have done my utmost, and must now let things take their course.'

9. *Favonius.*] Was a candidate for some office. He was ridiculed as an imitator of Cato. He obtained more suffrages in Cicero's tribe, probably the Cornelian, than in his own; but could not gain the tribe of Lucceius, who was a friend of Caesar's. Favonius accused P. Scipio Nasica, afterwards Pompey's brother-in-law, in a 'mediocre' speech, so that it would seem that at Rhodes he frequented the mills (molae) more than Molo, the celebrated teacher of rhetoric, under whom Cicero himself had studied. The joke is not easy to explain. There may be an allusion to the ass that turned the mill. We might say, 'He ground in the mill, instead of grinding at rhetoric.' Cicero defended Nasica, in a speech not extant.

*Petit.*] Note on i. 1.

*Lucceius.*] Lucceius Hirrus was candidate for the consulship with Caesar against Bibulus. As tribune of the plebs he proposed the appointment of Pompey as dictator. He opposed Cicero's demand for a triumph. In the civil war he sided with Pompey, but was pardoned by Caesar.

10. *Catoni.*] See note on v. 9. Cicero says that this *senatus consultum* has injured many besides Atticus, and that in consequence the senate would soon find itself deserted by the knights. The *publicani* had lent money to various small states and were now unable to recover it as public creditors, since the senate had adjudged these states to be 'populi liberi;' and this was a fresh grievance for the knights.

*Servilio.*] Note on v. 9.

11. *Amalthæa.*] Note on iv. 15.

*Vindicem aeris alieni.*] He was the champion of creditors against such debtors as Catiline and his party. The building of these villas at Tusculanum and Pompeii had given him plenty of debts, but no bronze statues. The money lenders lived round the Forum.

*Prognostica.*] A translation from Aratus.

12. *Pætus.*] An Epicurean friend. He had given Cicero the library of his cousin Servius Claudius. Atticus was to see that it reached Cicero safely. See lxxii. 4.

*Octavium.*] This seems to have been C. Octavius, the father of Augustus, praetor the preceding year, now governor of Macedonia, where he crushed the relics of the armies of Catiline and Spartacus. This letter was probably to introduce Atticus to him.

*Tocullionibus.*] Fœnoratoribus—from τόκος, τοκύλλιον.

## LETTER VII.

The year A.U.C. 695, B.C. 59 was the turning point of the history of the Republic. Caesar was consul with Bibulus, whose election had

been carried by the nobles by a still more profuse expenditure of money than had been made by Lucceius, Caesar's supporter. At the end of the preceding year had been established, in an informal manner, the Triumvirate, or threefold alliance of Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus, in whose hands was the supreme administration of affairs, while each of its members looked forward to raising himself to the head of the state by the mere rivalry of his colleagues.

The chief political measures of Caesar's consulship were: 1. The publication of the proceedings of the senate; 2. An agrarian law; 3. The remission of one-third of their debt to the equites who farmed the taxes of Asia. 4. The confirmation of the acts of Pompey. Both these measures had been previously attempted by Pompey, but in vain, in consequence of the opposition of Cato and the senatorial party. 5. The bill of Vatinius to invest Caesar with the provinces of Gallia Cisalpina and Illyricum for five years, to which the senate added Gallia Transalpina.

Through the whole year he was opposed by his colleague Bibulus, who, after a vain struggle, contented himself with shutting himself up in his house, and proclaiming a 'justitium,' or sacred holiday; while Caesar carried his measures on his own sole authority.

Cicero displays great despondency in his correspondence at this period. During the greater part of the year he was on his estates in the country, despairing of ever again taking part in public affairs, though at the same time he could not help anticipating that the triumvirs would make overtures to him to join their alliance. The mission to Egypt, of which he speaks in this letter, was an honourable appointment, by which the triumvirs would have got rid of Cicero, and at the same time committed him. He probably would have accepted this office (vii. 1) if the scheme had not fallen to the ground. He hesitated long before he refused the position of *legatus* offered him by Caesar (ix. 5) in his expected province; although he rejected at once the proposal that he should be one of the twenty commissioners under Caesar's agrarian law (ix. 4). He could scarcely believe that Cato and himself were really reduced to their actual insignificance, and idly imagined that the people of Rome still looked back with regret to the golden age of his own consulship. He thought himself strong enough to resist Clodius, with the support of his friends throughout Italy, and speaks with confidence in the last letter of this series of his personal position (xi. 16).

The next five letters will bring before us the various events of Caesar's consulship. A detailed account is well given either in Merivale, ch. ix, or in Abeken, book iii.

1. *Alexandriam.*] Ptolemaeus Auletes was at this moment quarrelling with his people; and it was proposed to send a commissioner to Egypt to arrange their disputes, and to make him 'friend' and 'ally' of Rome. This office was proposed to Cicero; but before he could decide on accepting it, Ptolemy was driven from Egypt and fled to Rome.

*Cum aliquo desiderio.*] When the people should have begun to feel their want of him.

Αἰδέομαι Τρῶας.] Hector's words in reply to Andromache's entreaties. *Iliad*, vi. 442.

Πουλυδάμας.] Hector's reply to Priam and Hecuba, who urged him to avoid battle with Achilles. *Iliad*, xxii. 10.

*Excipiamus.*] 'Exceptione excusationeque utamur ac tempus eximamus, neque plane affirmantes neque negantes.' Schütz.

*Si enim deferetur.*] Sc. ad me legatio.

Θεοφάνης.] A poet of Mitylene, who had written on Pompey's actions, and been made a Roman citizen by him (*Pro Arch.* x. 10). He was very intimate with Pompey. Compare 'Velim e Theophane expiscare quonam in me sit animo Alabarches (Pompeius).' *Att.* ii. 17.

2. *Arrius.*] A creature of Crassus. He had been thrown over (*destitutus*) by Caesar, in his attempt to get the consulship.

*Gabinio.*] As tribune he had carried the law for giving Pompey the command against the pirates, besides two laws, *De Comitiis* and *De Usurâ.* He became consul for the next year with L. Piso, and supported Clodius against Cicero. Afterwards he was exiled for receiving 10,000 talents for the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes to Egypt. See introduction to Letters xx. and xxviii. 20.

*Sulpicius.*] Consul eight years later. See lvii. 2, lxxv. 1. He was the writer of the famous letter to Cicero, consoling him on his daughter Tullia's death.

*Nepos.*] Q. Metellus Nepos was expecting a province. If he went he could not canvass for the augurate, though he might hold it if it was given him. There was a vacancy by the death of Metellus Celer, the late consul, husband of Clodia. Cicero would have accepted this dignity with eagerness. He allows here, in mock playfulness, that it was the only bait that could take him.

3. *Curtio.*] He is not known. On Clodius see the preceding letters.

*Roma.*] Atticus left Rome for Greece in the middle of this year.

## Letter VIII.

The power of the Triumvirate was now firmly established above the laws. Clodius, too, was advancing surely towards his object, favoured both by Caesar, who was irritated by Cicero's remarks on public matters, and by Pompey, who acquiesced in order to propitiate Caesar. He had been adopted into the plebs early in the year. Cicero still thinks that Clodius will be unable to injure him, and that public odium will prove too strong for the triumvirs.

1. *Publio.*] P. Clodius. Atticus seems to have had several conversations with him concerning Cicero, who here begs for some account of them, as well as of Clodia's negotiations with her brother on the same subject. She is here called βοῶπις, a common Homeric epithet of Here, probably on account of her quarrelsome and intriguing character. See vi. 5.

*Quae de me pacta sunt.*] Pompey had exacted from Clodius a promise that he would take no active measures against Cicero during his tribunate. For the passive use of 'paciscor' compare 'pactae sunt induciae.' *De Off.* i. 33.

*In caelo sum.*] Valde gaudeo. Compare 'Bibulus in caelo est,' ix. 2. 'Because Pompey now sees what a return he has made me for my speeches in his favour, of which you may expect to see a glorious palinode; and again, because Clodius will not be able to hurt me, or Lucullus, Hortensius and their friends, whether he is in favour or not with the triumviri.' Cicero here speaks contemptuously of Pompey,

calling him Hierosolymarius, as he does elsewhere Alabarches (*Att.* ii. 17) and Sampsiceramus (*Att.* ii. 14), in allusion to the eastern victories, of which Pompey was inordinately proud.

*Putissimis.*] Putus, probably connected with puto 'to purify.' Cf. 'aurum purum putum.' Here = splendidissimis.

*Nebulo.*] Clodius. The *dynastæ* are the triumvirs; *cynico consulari*, a name given to Cicero by Clodius; *Tritonibus*, Lucullus, Hortensius, &c., the *piscinarii* (v. 6).

*Orbis est conversus.*] 'The wheel of the state has come round full circle.' Compare 'Equidem sperabam . . . sic orbem reipublicae esse conversum ut vix sonitum audire, vix impressam orbitam videre possemus' (*Att.* ii. 21).

*Culpa Catonis.*] Cato had alienated the knights from the senate (vi. 10).

*Auspicia.*] Clodius had been adopted into the plebs 'inauspicato,' because, on the day of his adoption, Bibulus had formally vetoed the proceedings, by announcing that he intended 'servare de caelo.'

*Aeliam.*] The Lex Aelia made it unlawful to hold *comitia* while the consul was watching the heavens (iv. 13). This provision had been openly set at defiance in the case of Clodius, and also by the tribune Vatinius.

*Juniam et Liciniam.*] Which provided that all bills should be put up in public for three successive market days (*tribus nundinis*) before they were put to the vote.

*Caecilium et Didiam.*] Contained a similar provision, and also that no bill should comprise two measures.

For an excellent account of these laws see Ramsay's *Rom. Ant.* pp. 112–114.

*Praedia.*] Cicero means 'vectigalia' and 'agri publici,' which he calls, in *Agr.* ii. 29, 'praedia populi Romani.' Vatinius had been guilty of these illegal measures when he was tribune.

2. *Theophrasto.*] The famous scholar of Aristotle, and founder of the science of botany; known best by his *Characters.* He died B.C. 287. The work here alluded to was on politics.

*Nostra illa tempora.*] The period from his consulship to Caesar's. He speaks in the same way in Ep. xxviii. 12: 'Idemque memineram, nobis privatis usque ad Caesarem et Bibulum consules, quum sententiae nostrae magnum in senatu pondus haberent, unum fere sensum fuisse bonorum omnium.'

*Vatinii strumam.*] The neck of Vatinius was disfigured by tumours. In Cicero's speech against him he used the expression *struma civitatis* to designate him. He was a chief witness against Sestius and Milo, and his name passed into a byeword in the proverb 'crimina Vatiniana,' and 'odium Vatinianum' (Catull. xiv. 3). At this time he was tribune: afterwards he became praetor, and the following year was defended by Cicero, to oblige Caesar, on a charge of bribery at his election. See xxviii. 19. He was consul for a short time in B.C. 47, having done Caesar good service in the Alexandrian War.

*διβάφῳ.*] The augurs wore the purple tunic called *trabea.* This appointment, which, however, was not actually given to Vatinius, was the one wished for by Cicero himself (vii. 2).

*Qui peccavit.*] Cato's errors had led to the subversion of the state (sect. 1).

3. σοφιστεύειν] φιλοσοφεῖν. Cicero uses the word σοφιστής here in its old and favourable sense.

ἄντα.] Alluding apparently to the line,—

> ὥς θήν καὶ σὸν ἐγὼ λύσω μένος, εἴ κέ μεν ἄντα
> στήῃς. *Iliad.* xvii. 30.

*Quod est proprium.*] The σοφισταί were never at a loss to repel an attack. The following is from *Iliad.* xxiv. 369.

*Tam ingratis vectoribus.*] Alluding to all who were ungrateful for his past services to the state.

4. Κικέρων.] It has been conjectured that young Cicero added the words himself, to show that he had begun his Greek.

## Letter IX.

The same tone of anxiety about the state runs through this letter. Pompey is losing ground in the affections of the people. As for Clodius, he still threatens mischief, and Cicero cannot determine whether to fly the danger or to resist it openly. He mentions his refusal to fill a vacancy in the commission under Caesar's agrarian law, and Caesar's offer to make him his *legatus*. (Introd. to Letter vii.)

1. *Statium.*] A slave of Quintus Cicero, who was accused of undue influence with his master. Cicero was annoyed at his manumission by Quintus, because this was a reward generally reserved for meritorious slaves, and seemed to countenance the rumours. Comp. xi. 1. Quintus seems to have done this against Cicero's advice, without regarding the annoyance it would cause him. Hence the following quotation from Terence, *Phormio*, ii. 1, 2, where Demipho is speaking of the wilful conduct of his son.

ἅλις δρυός.] As men, after the introduction of corn, thought they had had enough of acorns, so Atticus is supposed to say, 'enough of your dignity.'

2. *Populares.*] The triumvirs, ironically so called. Bibulus was at this moment popular on account of his opposition to Caesar. (Int. to Letter VII.) For 'in caelo,' see viii. 1. Cicero applies to him the line of Ennius concerning Fabius Maximus.

*Pompeius.*] Cicero laments the change that has come over Pompey, and his present unpopularity contrasted with his former glory. Compare 'Ut Apelles, si Venerem, aut si Protogenes Ialysum illum suum coeno oblitum videret, magnum, credo, exciperet dolorem, sic ego hunc, omnibus a me pictum et politum artis coloribus, subito deformatum, non sine magno dolore vidi.' (*Att.* ii. 21.)

*Utor via.*] Supply *recta*, 'I turn neither to the right hand nor to the left.'

3. *Gladiatoribus.*] Comp. vi. 1. *Dominus*, the giver of the shows, who appears to have been Gabinius. *Advocati*, his friends. Some, however, suppose Caesar to be meant.

*Ludis Apollinaribus.*] The 'ludi Apollinares,' games instituted

B.C. 212, celebrated on the 5th July (3 Non. Quintil.). At these the praetor urbanus presided.

*Diphilus.*] The actor emphasised these lines with an evident allusion to Pompey. They seem to have been in a play of Attius. After the applause which had attended these passages had died away, Caesar entered, but was received coldly, though Curio was enthusiastically applauded, to Caesar's great annoyance. Curio (see note on iii. 5) was at this time a keen opponent of the triumvirs. His hostility to Caesar led to the accusation of Vettius, described in the following letter.

*Capuam.*] Pompey was now at Capua as one of the twenty commissioners, engaged in distributing the Campanian land. (See note on sect. 4.)

*Inimici.*] The populace.

*Rosciae legi.*] They threatened the abrogation not only of the law of Roscius concerning the seats of the knights at the spectacles (vi. 3), but also of another law of his, 'frumentaria,' by which corn was sold to the people at a maximum price of four *sestertii* the *modius*.

*Quod erat susceptum ab illis.*] Cicero would have preferred that Caesar's measures should have been carried without opposition. But, on the contrary, disturbances seemed likely to ensue, and serious riots did take place on the passing of the Agrarian Law. See Merivale ix. p. 262.

4. *Inimicatur.*] A rare deponent, altered in some books to *minitatur*. For Cicero's view of his own position, compare Introd. to Letter vii. and xi. 16.

*Cosconio.*] One of the twenty commissioners under Caesar's agrarian law. Cicero was offered his place, but rejected it with scorn. For a full account of the provisions of this law, see Abeken, book iii. p. 95.

5. *Legatum.*] See Introd. to Letter vii. An act of kindness on Caesar's part, which would have saved him from the persecution of Clodius; but Cicero makes up his mind to brave his danger.

'Ακκιζόμεθα.] 'Why should I be always coquetting with Caesar and his party?' In future letters he intimates he shall be obliged to write enigmatically, under feigned names.

*Furium.*] L. Furius Philus, a contemporary of Laelius, introduced as one of the characters in the *Laelius.*

*Caecilium.*] Note on i. 3.

6. *Edicta Bibuli.*] Bibulus, remaining at home, contented himself with opposing Caesar's measures by edicts. (Introd. to vii.) By this seclusion he virtually abdicated his office, and left Caesar to act sole consul, so that people talked of Julius et Caesar coss., and, among others, we have this epigram:

> Non Bibulo quicquam nuper sed Caesare factum est,
> Nam Bibulo fieri consule nil memini.

These edicts of Bibulus are called by Cicero 'Archilochia edicta,' from their severity. See *Att.* ii. 22.

## LETTER X.

Vettius, who had formerly been employed by Cicero as a spy in the Catilinarian conspiracy, had promised Caesar to damage Curio, who at this time was the greatest opponent of the triumvirs. He invented a

charge of conspiracy against the lives of Caesar and Pompey, in which he implicated Curio and others, and said that Bibulus had sent him a dagger to assassinate Pompey. The various stages of the affair are well described in this letter. He was sent to prison, and there mysteriously disappeared; Cicero says, strangled by order of Vatinius. At this moment Cicero is in good spirits. Pompey encouraged him against Clodius, and gave him repeated proofs of his friendship, though we shall see that he afterwards abandoned him (Introd. to Letter xii.), and that Cicero in his exile at last saw his insincerity (xiii. 9). The best English account of this affair is in Middleton's *Cicero*, vol. i, p. 268.

1. *Evocabam.* Atticus was now in Epirus. κέλευσιν; hortationem.

2. *Cum Curione restitisse.*] Unquam cum eo verbum commutâsse. Vettius pretended at first that he knew nothing of this charge of Curio's, but afterwards threw himself upon the protection of the state, affecting to turn, as we should say, king's evidence, and proceeded to accuse, not only Cicero, but, as Cicero says in his oration against Vatinius, the very lights of the state—'civitatis lumina.' (cap. 11.)

*Paullus.*] Paullus Aemilius, at that time questor in Macedonia.

*Q. Caepio.*] M. Junius Brutus, the murderer of Caesar, so called because he had been adopted by his uncle Servilius Caepio.

*Lentulus.*] Lentulus the father was flamen of Mars. Vettius attacked him through his son, because Lentulus was at this time a competitor for the consulate against Gabinius, Vatinius's friend. 'L. Lentulum, hunc judicem nostrum, flaminem Martialem, quod erat eo tempore Gabinii tui competitor ejusdem Vettii indicio opprimere voluisti.' (*In Vatin.* cap. 10.)

3. *Dixerat—consilium.*] Supply 'hoc fuisse.' The complicity of Paullus was at once disposed of by his absence in Macedonia, as that of Bibulus had been by his previous warning to Pompey.

*Gladiatoribus.*] Compare vi. 1.

*Res erat in ea opinione.*] Every one thought that the disclosures made by the two Curios had interrupted Vettius's full plan, which was to have got himself and slaves apprehended with weapons, and then to have offered to inform against others.

*In rostra.*] The scandal was, that an informer of Vettius's character was allowed to occupy the 'rostra,' whence Bibulus had been driven by Vatinius, and where Catulus himself had not been allowed by Caesar (then praetor) to speak on the question of the dedication of the Capitol (note on iv. 5); 'in rostris, in illo, inquam, augurato templo ac loco . . . . quo, auctoritatis exquirendae causa, ceteri tribuni plebis principes civitatis producere consueverunt.' (*In Vatin.* cap. 10.) Caesar is said to have done this; nominally everything was done by Vatinius. Vettius now implicated others whom he had not previously named.

*Lucullum.*] L. Lucullus, as Pompey's great rival.

*C. Fannium.*] Not the tribune of the plebs (*Pro Sext.* cap. 53), but the Fannius who had been one of the promoters of Clodius' prosecution: a 'subscriptor.'

*L. Domitius.*] Ahenobarbus. See note on i. 3.

*Ahalam.*] Who killed Sp. Maelius. Livy, iv. 14. Mentioned by Cicero, *De Senect.* cap. xvi.; *In Catil.* i. 1.

*Pisonem.*] C. Calpurnius Piso, the husband of Tullia.

*Laterensem.*] He opposed Caesar's Agrarian Law.

4. *Reus erat.*] The epistolary imperfect. 'At the time of my writing he is.' Vettius had been sent back to prison, and was to stand his trial before Crassus for illegal violence, or attempted murder. He was expected to be condemned, and then to turn informer, and bring fresh accusations, which might be followed by impeachments. All these expectations were ended by his death, of which Cicero in his speech plainly accuses Vatinius. '*De Vi.*' Note on xxi. 5.

*Modo caedem.*] They had feared that Caesar would openly use force against the senate. The speech of Considius had struck Caesar. He had said that the senate were afraid to meet. 'Why then,' said Caesar, 'do you not stay at home?' His reply was, "Ότι με ποιεῖ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ γῆρας.' Plut. *Cæs.* xiv. Cicero implies that this frankness modified Caesar's conduct, and led to greater confidence.

*Catulus.*] He was 'felix opportunitate mortis,' dying before he saw the calamities that had come upon his country. He speaks in a similar manner of Hortensius: 'Perpetua quadam felicitate usus, ille cessit e vita, suo magis quam suorum civium tempore, et tum occidit quum lugere facilius rempublicam posset, si viveret, quam juvare.'—*Brutus*, cap. 1.

5. *Pompeius.*] He had secured Cicero, he thought, from Clodius's attack for the next year. (Introd. to Letter v.)

## Letter XI.

This letter, though not treating directly of public events, contains much that is interesting, and gives us an insight into the characters of the two brothers. The following words of Abeken sum up well the impression derived from the letter: 'Quintus had a lively sense of right; but he wanted the conduct, calmness, and circumspection indispensable to one whose duty it is to administer justice, and to make his qualities appreciated throughout a wide sphere of influence. Any violation of right threw him into a passion, and his punishments seemed inflicted to satisfy his own feelings rather than the demands of justice. Nor was he always consistent with himself; and his elder brother, usually so mild and forbearing, found occasion to reprehend him severely. Marcus hated injustice: yet he did not refuse sometimes to connive at it from regard to those in power.'—P. 115.

1. *Statius.*] See note on ix. 1.

*Expectationem.*] Everybody was anxious to see this Statius, who had had such extraordinary influence with Quintus; and therefore Quintus expected that people would flock to meet them on their return to Rome; a prospect which was spoilt by the departure of Statius for the province alone. Cicero, on the other hand, says that it has happened very well. People's curiosity is now satisfied, and they can only wonder that such a mean-looking fellow should have been so powerful. They expected to see a fine, imposing man. The quotation is from Homer, where the Cyclops says:—

> ἀλλ' αἰεί τινα φῶτα μέγαν καὶ καλὸν ἐδέγμην
> ἐνθάδ' ἐλεύσεσθαι, μεγάλην ἐπιειμένον ἀλκήν·
> νῦν δέ μ' ἐὼν ὀλιγός τε καὶ οὐτιδανὸς καὶ ἄκικυς
> ὀφθαλμοῦ ἀλάωσεν. *Od.* ix. 517.

3. ἀφελῶς]. Many persons had actually begged Cicero to make interest with Statius for them, showing what they thought of his influence with Quintus; and Statius himself had betrayed as much plainly in his conversations with Cicero.

*Hoc manumisso.*] See ix. 1, note.

*Blaudenio.*] Native of Blaudum in Phrygia. Who he was we do not know. Quintus was much annoyed that Cicero had introduced such a villain to him. Cicero goes on to explain why he was anxious to be on good terms with the Greeks, and had been civil to several worthless persons, merely because they conceived themselves to have been injured by Quintus.

*Ambitiosum.*] 'Tam cupidum eorum gratiam captandi.' Sch.

*Nugas maximas.*] 'Levissimos infimaeque conditionis homines.' Sch.

5. *Zeuxim.*] Cicero appears to have shielded him from his brother, who was determined to make an example of him. He allows that if Zeuxis had been tried he could scarcely have got off: but why bring him to trial at all.

6. *Tuscenium.*] Called in another place 'hominis furiosi ac sordidi . . . . cujus tu ex impurissimis faucibus inhonestissimam cupiditatum eripuisti maxima cum aequitate.' *Ad Q. Fr.* i. 1. His case was now without remedy, as he had been severely punished by Quintus.

*Supra caput.*] Molestus tibi est. This Catienus was a man of equestrian wealth, though not a knight. '*Censu*'—His property was rated at the due 400,000 sestertii. Quintus had crucified his father, and seems to have written an unfeeling letter to the son, warning him that he was going in the right way to be crucified, and burnt, on his father's cross.

*Licinium.*] He seems to have been accompanied by his son (a true chick of the old hawk) in his kidnapping expeditions. The name 'plagiarius' was specially applied to those who sold free-born persons. Quintus recommends Fabius to burn both of them alive, or to send them to him to be burnt in due course of law. This must, says Cicero, have been a joke, but a bad one to put on paper.

7. *Virgilius.*] C. Virgilius was propraetor of Sicily. Who was then in Cilicia is unknown. Syria was under L. Marcius; Macedonia under C. Octavius, father of Augustus. (See vi. 12.)

8. *Contrarias.*] Letters which seemed inconsistent with the general tone of Quintus' correspondence. *Inusitatas*—Such letters as are inconsistent with the dignity of the praetor, and unusual for an officer of his position to write.

9. *Nomenclator.*] This was the title of the slave who generally accompanied candidates in their canvass, to point out to him persons requiring notice, and to tell him the names of voters. This man seems to have been one of Quintus's *servi literati*, probably acting as *librarius*, or *scriba*, and to have written a letter, to which Quintus affixed his seal. Cicero urges his brother to review his correspondence, in which he seems to have been very indiscreet, and to destroy all letters calculated to create an unfavourable impression.

10. *Tempore ipso.*] 'These warnings about letters are just in season, for while I am writing Flavius has come in with a complaint about one of your letters.'

*L. Flavius.*] The proposer of Caesar's agrarian law. See notes on

Letter v. Quintus seems to have decided, in his capacity of praetor, that a sum of money was due out of the estate of L. Octavius to one C. Fundanius, and to have sent a letter warning the agents of L. Flavius not to take any part of Octavius's property till this debt was paid. Cicero shows Quintus that he had acted contrary to precedent, for a praetor's business was to lay down the law, not to decide the question of fact; and after all this might not be a valid debt. Quintus had, in fact, shown himself to be a partisan of Fundanius in the matter, and thus lowered his office.

11. *Nolo.*] 'I do not wish to gain the credit of liberality, from your unfairness to him.' Cicero appears almost as ready to strain a point in favour of Flavius (who was supported by the triumvirs) as Quintus had been to favour Fundanius.

12. *Hermia.*] Hermia was a slave of Cicero's. What the fault of Quintus was here we are not informed; nor do we know any thing of his relations to the persons afterwards named.

13. *Graviora.*] Quintus had replied to his brother with stronger expressions than he liked. He had quoted a Greek sentence. Εὖ ἴσθι, Ποσειδᾶν, ὅτι ὀρθὰν τὰν ναῦν παραδώσω,' 'Neptune (in spite of all your storms), I will bring in my ship safe;' meaning that in spite of all calumnies, he would continue to administer his province well. Ἅπαξ θανεῖν is quoted from Aeschylus.

κρεῖσσον γὰρ εἰσάπαξ θανεῖν
ἢ τὰς ἁπάσας ἡμέρας πάσχειν κακῶς. *Prom. Vinct.* 749.

His reputation, Quintus implied, was more to him than his life. All this, says Cicero, was too high flown for the occasion.

14. *Publiceni.*] This name is unknown. To whom the statue was to be erected we do not know. We ought to have the name of some distinguished contemporary of Cicero.

*Æsopi.*] A celebrated tragic actor—of whom Horace says—

'Recte necne crocum floresque perambulet Attae
Fabula, si dubitem, clament periisse pudorem
Cuncti paene patres, ea quum reprehendere coner
Quae gravis Aesopus, quae doctus Roscius egit.'
*Epist.* II. i. 79–82.

*Patronem.*] The leading philosopher of the Epicurean school, at Athens, in Cicero's time. In Letter xxxii. Cicero mentions him again in connection with the traditional house of Epicurus.

15. *Cato.*] C. Porcius Cato. Here we have him attempting to indite Gabinius (vii. 2). Afterwards, when tribune of the plebs, he prevented assistance being given to Ptolemy Auletes. (See Letters xx. xxi. xxiii.) In his annoyance he called Pompey 'privatum dictatorem,' as we should say, 'a dictator out of office.' One who, though *privatus* (for the Triumvirate was not legally recognised), gave himself the airs of a dictator. He nearly lost his life for his temerity.

16. For Cicero's view of his own position, see Introduction to Letter vii.

*Horum regum.*] The triumvirs.

*Domitium.*] L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. (i. 3.)

*Nigidius.*] P. Nigidius Figulus, the most learned of Cicero's contemporaries, famous as an astronomer and Pythagorean philosopher. He was banished by Caesar.

*Memmium.*] C. Memmius Gemellus, the patron of Catullus and Lucretius. See xxvi. 4; xxxii.; xl. 10, 23.

*Lentulum.*] L. Lentulus Crus, who was the chief accuser of Clodius. Put to death in Egypt after the battle of Pharsalia.

---

## Third Division of Letters.

## DURING CICERO'S EXILE.

### Letters XII.–XVI.

### Letter XII.

The following letters, xii.–xvi., are selected from those written by Cicero during his exile. The long-expected attack of Clodius had now been made; and in spite of the sanguine expectations which Cicero had entertained (xi. 16), he found that his popularity was not sufficient to protect him from the violence of the tribune, tacitly supported as he was by Caesar and Pompey, while the consuls, on whom he had relied, had, as Cicero asserts in the speech for Sestius (cap. 10), a secret understanding with Clodius.

The general history of Clodius's tribunate is not connected with these letters. The attack of Clodius was conducted indirectly, by a law, 'Qui civem Romanum indemnatum peremisset, ei aqua et igni interdiceretur.' Cicero was evidently the chief person aimed at; and although he would no doubt have ultimately been sacrificed, yet his own appearance '*sordidatus*' as a defendant on a criminal charge paralysed his friends, and gave every advantage to his enemies, as he confesses himself in a letter to Atticus (see xiv. 6, 7), whom at the same time he reproaches for having allowed him to make such blunders.

In spite of the concourse of his friends from Italy, and of the intercession of the senate, who put on mourning apparel; in spite of his own personal application to Piso, and his abject appeal to the mercy of Pompey, who had retired to his Alban villa, he was condemned by name, and forbidden to approach within four hundred miles of Rome. Before the actual sentence Cicero had already sought to appease his enemies by voluntary exile. Clodius completed his revenge by the confiscation of Cicero's estates, and razed to the ground his house on the Palatine, consecrating a portion of the site to the goddess Liberty, to render its recovery impossible.

For fuller details of these transactions, see Merivale, or Middleton's *Cicero*, and the excellent sketch in Abeken, book iv.

This letter is written from Brundisium, in the suburbs of which city he spent thirteen days with M. Laenius Flaccus. He then sailed to Dyrrhachium, and crossed overland to Thessalonica, where he remained

till the approach of the troops of the consul Piso, who had obtained the province of Macedonia. Thence he returned to Dyrrachium, and remained there till his recall.

The weakness of Cicero's philosophical stoicism is, perhaps unfortunately for his character, exhibited in an unusually clear light in these letters of his exile. As Merivale well says, 'In the overthrow of his own greatness he had forgotten the degradation of his own country; he had shown in the hour of trial that Rome was only the second object of his thoughts, himself the first.' The whole conclusion of this chapter is an admirable sketch, not only of Cicero's character, but also of the chief characteristics of his letters. See Merivale, *Fall of the Roman Republic*, chap. ix.

1. In this letter we have the fresh outburst of Cicero's grief and despair. His apprehensions for his family were not without foundation; for Terentia was much harassed by his enemies (xv. 5, xvi. 2).

2. *M. Laenium Flaccum.*] He received Cicero at personal risk to himself; for death, exile, or confiscation of property were penalties incurred by those who sheltered the exile, by the 'lex improbissima' of Clodius. This was the reason why he did not enter the city itself. Cicero speaks in the warmest terms of this Laenius in his speech for Plancius, cap. 41: 'Haec perpeti, si acciderent, maluit, quam custodiam mei capitis dimittere.'

3. *Brundisio profecti sumus.*] The perfect is used in conformity with the epistolary style. His departure would be passed when Terentia received the letter. Compare Letter I. 7, 'Reverti Formias,' written while Cicero was still at Cales.

*Petebamus.*] 'I intend to go to Cyricus'—another epistolatory use. He did not go so far. See introduction above.

*Matrimonio.*] Tullia was married to C. Calpurnius Piso. He exerted himself greatly for Cicero and his family during this period. It seems that Tullia's dower was not fully paid, and Cicero was afraid that some difficulty might arise from this during his absence.

*Utrum aliquid teneas.*] Rei, sc., familiaris.

4. *De familia liberata.*] These slaves had been manumitted by Cicero, by one of the modes of informal manumission, probably *per epistolam.* Cicero's object had been this. If all his property were sold by public auction, and went into other hands, 'si res a nobis abisset,' these slaves would not go with it, but would remain his *liberti*, provided they could obtain their recognition of their freedom (which might be disputed as a fraud upon the law of confiscation); if, on the contrary, Cicero himself could manage to buy in his own property, 'sin ad nos pertinerent,' they then would remain his slaves, the manumission having been, except in the case of a few, a fiction. Terentia had merely promised her slaves that they should be treated each according to his merits. Her property, therefore, was safe; and Cicero's slaves would go only if he could not help losing them. *Abire* is technically used of being outbidden at an auction. Compare 'Si res abiret ab eo mancipe quem ipse apposuisset, sibi nullam praedam esse.'—*In Verr.* II. i. 54. Verres was afraid that his mock bidder should be outbid.

6. *Clodium.*] He, Sallustius, and Pescennius, seem, from the context, to have been *liberti* of Cicero.

*Sicca.*] The friend who had received Cicero into his house near Vibo. He had intended to go with Cicero to Greece, but had now left him.

## Letter XIII.

Cicero was so broken that he had declined a visit from his brother Quintus, who had reached Athens shortly before this letter was written. He now excuses himself for having shunned an interview with him. The letter is taken up with complaints of his ill fortune, and against friends whom he supposed to have betrayed him, especially Hortensius (sect. 8). He concludes by commending his family to the care of his brother.

1. *Proficiscens.*] When Quintus went from Rome to his province. In a letter to Atticus, Cicero says of his brother, 'Animum inducere non potui ut aut illum, amantissimum mei, mollissimo animo, tanto in maerore aspicerem, aut meas miserias, luctu afflictas, et perditam fortunam illi offerrem aut ab illo aspici paterer.' (*Ad Att.* iii. 9.)

*Utinam.*] 'Would I had died before I lost my dignity.'

2. *Aliis indigeres.*] Quintus was likely to be tried for his conduct in his province, and for maladversation of the money given him as praetor, as was threatened by Appius Claudius, son of Clodius (*Att.* iii. 17), and Cicero would no longer be able to defend him, as he would have done, and as he had defended those who were most adverse to himself, as Vatinius (xxviii. 19), and as he had thought of defending Catiline (i. 1).

3. *Obsequio.*] Quintus was not always deferential to the advice of his brother. See ix. 1.

5. *Dimicatio.*] 'Scil. si repetundarum accusatus fueris.' Sch.

*Quamdiu tibi opus erit.*] Cicero, even in his exile, might send a speech for his brother's defence.

6. *Genere ipso pecuniae.*] He had acquired his money, not by dishonest means, but by thrift and fair means. A good deal had come to him by legacies from friends, which was one mode in which his services as an advocate were no doubt frequently repaid.

7. *Permutatione.*] Quintus seems to have advised his brother to raise money at Thessalonica by bill of exchange on Rome, which he would negotiate there.

*Acceptam ex aerario.*] The money which had been paid to Quintus out of the public treasury, as praetor, by the *tribuni aerarii* (iv. 3). This money Cicero seems to have spent in bribes to no purpose.

*M. Antonio.*] This may, perhaps, have been the triumvir.

*Caepioni.*] See note on x. 2, or another of the name mentioned in *Att.* xii. 20.

*Crassum.*] The triumvir. He would help Quintus with money.

*Calidium.*] M. Calidius, a famous orator, of whom Cicero gives an interesting account (*Brutus*, capp. 79, 80), calling him 'inter multos propè singularis.' In B.C. 57, he spoke in favour of Cicero's recall from exile, and also for the restoration of his house; and in 52 was with Cicero a defender of Milo.

8. *Hortensio.*] In several places Cicero speaks with suspicion of Hortensius his great rival and friend: but Abeken shows clearly that there

is no trace of any justification of these suspicions. (Ab. p. 135.) In *Brutus* cap. 1, Cicero has left a fine tribute to him.

*Arrius.*] Note on vii. 2.

*Pomponium.*] T. Pomponius, generally called Atticus. Cicero's chief correspondent.

*Versus, qui in te erat collatus.*] The matter is obscure. The Aurelian law seems to have been one *de ambitu.* Either Hortensius or some friend of his had been attacked in a lampoon, which was generally supposed to have been written by Quintus. This idea, Cicero says, may have been confirmed by false evidence: and Hortensius would therefore bear a grudge against Quintus. For *collatus,* compare 'Permulta in Plancium, quae ab eo nunquam dicta sunt, conferuntur.' (*Pro Planc.* cap. 14).

*Quantum misericordiae.*] Cicero's enemies would be likely to attack Quintus that he might not aid his brother by appealing to the feelings of the people and the leading citizens, as he would if he were safe himself.

9. *Messalam.*] See note on iii. 6.

*Optime factis.*] Alluding to his suppression of Catiline's conspiracy.

## Letter XIV.

Cicero had doubted for some time whether to remain at Thessalonica, or to fly to some further point, such as Cyzicus (xii. 3). The advice of Atticus had determined him to await the course of events: and he had endeavoured to restore Cicero's confidence in Pompey. Quintus also had done his best to raise his brother's hopes. In this letter, Cicero still pours out his complaints against himself; and even against Atticus, whom he blames for not having controlled him better; and he can find no comfort in Atticus's scheme of attacking the rogation of Clodius, for he still harps on the *sanctio* contained in the law of Clodius which forbad any motion to be made in the senate in favour of the exile. (See sect. 5, and 6.)

On the 1st of June, the tribune Ninnius proposed Cicero's recall in the assembly: and the senate resolved to recommend the measure: but during the existing consulate no further steps were taken. Pompey was at this time exerting himself strongly for Cicero: but Caesar declined to interfere with Clodius during his tribunate. In July P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther and Q. Metellus Nepos were elected consuls; the first a friend of Cicero, and the latter was induced by Atticus to desist from his hostility. This was the state of affairs at the date of this letter. August 19, 696 A.U.C. The further course of events will come before us in the following letters.

1. *Acta in senatu.*] See above.

*Varrone.*] M. Terentius Varro, the most learned Roman of his time, called by Cicero πολυγραφώτατος. (Att. xiii. 18.) He is said to have written 490 volumes, of which we have his treatises *De Re Rustica* and *De Lingua Latina.* He followed Pompey in the civil war; but finally was protected by Octavius, and died at the age of 89, B.C. 28.

3. *Ne scindam ipse dolorem.*] He expresses this below: 'ut—meis vulneribus saepius manus afferrem.' *Scindere vulnus*—applies to a fresh wound, which is still as it were bandaged and raw: *rescindere* would

be said of re-opening an old wound already healed. Compare 'Ne refricem meis literis desiderium ac dolorem tuum.' (*Ad Div.* v. 17. 4.)

*Quos ego mihi scripsi invidisse.*] He alludes to Hortensius and Arrius (xiii. 8).

3. *Curio.*] Curio pater (iii. 5.*) He had supported Clodius on his trial; and afterwards Cicero had attacked him and Clodius violently in the Senate (iv. 9). This speech he seems afterwards to have rewritten and distributed among his friends, although he did not intend it to be published. It had now been made public without his knowledge: at which he was much annoyed, and in a letter to Atticus he says, that he meant to disclaim it. (*Ad. Att.* iii. 12.) Cicero therefore asks, 'How can Curio be friendly to me? Has he not seen that speech of mine!'

*Axius.*] A senator, friendly to Cicero. Cicero wrote several letters to him, but this collection is lost.

4. *Ac potius.*] 'Or rather.' So in *De Orat.* ii. 18: 'Nos qui nunquam sententias de manibus judicum vi quadam orationis extorsimus, *ac potius* placatis eorum animis tantum, quantum ipsi patiebantur, accepimus.' Compare xxii. 2.

*Legem de collegiis.*] Clodius's law, Many *collegia*, 'joint-stock companies,' or 'clubs,' (see *Dict. of Ant.*) had existed at Rome, such as the 'collegium fabrorum.' Several of these had been suppressed by the senate as illegal; but were revived by Clodius, who intended to use them as his tools. Cicero had been persuaded by his friends to withdraw his opposition to this, and the other measures of Clodius, with the understanding that Clodius should not attack him. Of this measure Cicero speaks in his speech for Sextius, saying that Clodius got the clubs together for evil purposes: 'quum vicatim homines conscriberentur, decuriarentur; ad vim, ad manus, ad caedem, ad direptionem incitarentur (cap. 15). (Compare xxi. v.)

*Pompeii.*] He alludes to his repulse by Pompey (Introd. to Letter xii.) of which he speaks in another letter, 'qui se nihil contra hujus (Caesaris) voluntatem aiebat facere posse.' (*Ad Att.* x. 4. 3.)

*Turpissimo consilio.*] Atticus, he says, should have prevented his taking the fatal step of leaving Rome, and thus putting himself in the wrong.

5. *Culeone.*] Q. Terentius Culeo was this year tribune of the plebs. He afterwards, in the war of Mutina, deserted Antony, and then connived at his escape across the Alps. The scheme of Atticus and Culeo was that Clodius's law should be attacked as a *privilegium*, and therefore invalid. A *privilegium* was a law *privo homini irrogata*—an attack on a private citizen under the disguise of a law, forbidden by the Twelve Tables. Cicero replies that it would be better that Clodius's second law should be directly abrogated by a new law rather than that a *senatus consultum* should be passed against it. The same persons who would oppose the law would oppose the *senatus consultum*, and the law would carry more weight with it.

*Prior lex.*] Clodius's first law, 'Qui civem Romanum indemnatum per-

---

* Some suppose this to have been Curio the younger; but Merivale, on Abeken (p. 140), and Schütz show that it is Curio the elder: for Cicero always speaks of the younger Curio as *adolescens*, *meus*, or *filius*.

emisset ei aqua et igni interdiceretur,' did not touch Cicero by name; and in itself, he says, it was a law which he might have approved, and a popular measure in itself; and if he had been wise enough to do so, he would have taken the sting out of it. His true course was to have supported it, or to have affected to ignore it; but by applying it to himself, and acting as if it was directed solely against himself, he had made it mischievous. (See Introd. to Letter xii.) The second law, which outlawed Cicero by name, 'Ut M. Tullio aqua et igni interdictum sit,' was the law which should be abrogated.

*Sed pergo praeterita.*] Sc. commemorare. *Legem illam*, sc. priorem.

6. *Caput legis.*] This was the *sanctio* of Clodius's second law, directed against Cicero by name. *Referri*, sc. ad Senatum.

*Domitius.*] Ahenobarbus (i. 3.) He was now praetor. Any officer might propose a question to the senate; but the consuls generally took precedence. On this occasion, the consuls refused to put the question of Cicero's recall, although the senate called on them to do so, and declared that they would entertain no other business till this was done. Domitius seems to have promised that if he were elected consul, he would bring the matter forward. Clodius prevailed on one of the tribunes to oppose this measure.

*De bonis.*] Cicero's property and house. See Introd. to Letter xii.

*Acta Kal. Sext.*] When the matter was again to be brought forward, and the *consules designati* were expected to support it.

*Tuos agros.*] Atticus's estate at Buthrotum, in Epirus. There he would be nearer Italy.

*Cyzicum.*] See xii. 3.

7. *Totam Italiam.*] Compare xi. 16, and Introd. to Letter xii.

## Letter XV.

This letter was written on the last day of November A.U.C. 696. Cicero had, five days before, arrived at Dyrrhachium, in order to be nearer Rome, and to wait for the result of the efforts of his friends in his behalf, and also because he considered Thessalonica no longer a safe retreat, as the troops of Piso, who had obtained the province of Macedonia, were beginning to arrive there. Meanwhile, his friends had not been idle. A law in his favour (a renewal of the bill of Ninnius: see Introd. to Letter xiv.) was brought forward on the 29th October by eight of the tribunes, consisting of three clauses; the first restoring him his former rank but not his estate; the second merely indemnifying the proposers; the third containing the enactment, that if this law contained anything contrary to any previous law—especially to the law of Clodius—it should have no effect. Cicero, in commenting on this law, remarks that this clause was framed with too much deference to Clodius's law; for, of course, when a law was repealed, the penalty attaching to it fell with it; that it was a bad precedent for succeeding tribunes; and that Clodius had already taken advantage of it by arguing that future tribunes would see from this clause that their power did not extend to the abrogation of his law. The tribunes, in fact, had aimed solely at Cicero's recall; and he says himself that he would be contented with this on any terms (sect. 4.) He

preferred the law which had been proposed by T. Fadius. The law of Sextius he disapproved, as being too general.

1. *Mensem Januarium.*] In which the new consuls, Metellus and Lentulus, would enter upon their office. See Introd. to Letter xiv.

*Lege.*] See the Introduction. This law was 'desperata' because two of the tribunes, Clodius and Aelius Ligus, interposed their veto.

*Novis magistratibus.*] The new consuls and tribunes who were soon to come into office. The *veteres* are the existing magistrates, whose term was about to expire.

2. *Quae cavenda fuerint.*] The restitution of his house and property.

*Tralatitium.*] Copied from previous laws. The regular clause which was inserted in every law.

*Tertium.*] On the third clause, see above in the Introduction to this letter.

3. *Hoc est . . . legem Clodium.*] Cicero adds these words to show what was the particular law aimed at in these general terms.

*Promulgare legem.*] To publish a law; *abrogare,* to repeal a law; *derogare,* to repeal a portion of a law; *obrogare,* to bring forward a new law altering an old law.

*S. F. sua.*] Sine fraude sua, or Salva fide sua. *Ejus hac lege nihil rogatum,* 'Nothing of this kind is intended by this law.' The tribunes meant by this to conciliate Clodius, and thus make it more easy to carry their main object, which was the recall of Cicero.

4. *Non laedebat.*] The penalty of Clodius's law did not touch them, and therefore this clause was unnecessary in their case. But this penalty was directed against Cicero, and this clause would have the effect of deterring the new tribunes from plainly abrogating Clodius's law, and forcing them to introduce a bill with a similar clause. This Clodius saw. It is doubtful whether the law of a tribune did not bind his colleagues. Perhaps Clodius had expressly directed the penalty of his law against future tribunes, for by his own right of *intercessio* he was safe from any attack of his own colleagues.

*In lege nulla.*] Cicero says that the clause was an unusual one, and unnecessary, for otherwise it would always be used in abrogating old laws. Cicero asks, How could all these circumstances have escaped Ninnius and the rest; and why, while they ventured to disregard Clodius's law by proposing his recall, they were so timid about abrogating it, and so fearful of a penalty which never binds any one who abrogates a law. *Ninnius* was one of the eight friendly tribunes.

*Vereor.*] 'Perhaps,' he says, 'I am wasting my pains, while all is over and the law rejected.'

*Visellius.*] C. Visellius Varro, son of C. Aculeo, and Cicero's cousin. He had drawn a law for T. Fadius, one of the new tribunes, which Cicero highly approved, and which he wished his friends to support.

*Sextii.*] P. Sextius, another of the tribunes elect, had obtained by a visit to Caesar his approval of a law for Cicero's recall; but Cicero disapproved of it as too general, and probably containing some limitations insisted on by Caesar.

5. *Multitudine comparata.*] By getting numbers of voters to come up and vote for him. This would be done partly by bribes. Hence the word *comparata* is very suitable.

*Quintum.*] Cicero had brought his brother into great difficulties by borrowing from him state money to procure the defeat of Clodius (xiii. 7). In consequence of this, and of his conduct in his province, Quintus was threatened with an action of *repetundæ*. See note on xiii. 2.

*Primorum dierum nuntios.*] News of the events of the first days after the new tribunes had entered on their office, which would be on the 10th December (iv. Id. Dec.). All other magistrates had since B.C. 154 entered on their office on the 1st January.

## Letter XVI.

On the 1st January, A.U.C. 697, the consuls proposed in the senate the recall of Cicero, on the ground that Clodius's adoption had been informal, and that the deeds of his tribunate were in consequence invalid, and that the law against Cicero was a *privilegium* (note on xiv. 5). Scenes of great violence ensued, in which Clodius and Milo equally had recourse to arms. These contests continued for seven months, till, on the 4th of August, the tribes met, and Cicero's recall was voted. A full account of these events is given in Middleton's *Life of Cicero.*

We have already seen that Metellus had been persuaded to abate his hostility to Cicero; and he was now promoting his recall in conjunction with his colleague Lentulus. In May of this year he formally renounced all his former animosity against the exile. This letter was written early in January, after Cicero had received intelligence of the motion of the consuls in his favour, and of a speech of Metellus in the senate in support of it.

1. *T. Pomponii.*] Atticus had previously informed him that Metellus entertained a more friendly feeling towards him. (xv. 1.)

*In tuo collega.*] P. Cornelius Lentulus.

2. *Orationem.*] Cicero refers to Metellus in his speech for P. Sextius in language similar to that which he uses here. 'Veniunt Kalendae Januarii; vos haec melius scire potestis . . . . . quae virtus, actio, gravitas P. Lentuli consulis fuerit, quae etiam collegae ejus moderatio de me; qui cum inimicitias sibi mecum ex reipublicae dissensione susceptas esse dixisset, eas se patribus conscriptis, dixit, et temporibus reipublicae permissurum' (cap. 33). Metellus, when tribune of the plebs, had prevented Cicero from speaking to the people, on his retirement from his consulship, and in the following year had led the attack on Cicero; but was suspended from his office by the nobles. He does not seem now to have been decided in his support of Cicero, though he yielded to the popular feeling. Later in the year he endeavoured to screen Clodius from impeachment for violence; though at the expiration of his consulate he wrote in a cordial manner, protesting his devotion to Cicero.

*Crudelitatem tuorum.*] 'Clodius's party.' Metellus was connected with Clodius.

*Me fore in tua potestate.*] Me omnia facturum quae velis.

*Qui servetur non erit.*] If Clodius were to go on in his course of violence, everything would soon be ruined, and there would be no one left to save.

## Fourth Division of Letters.

## WRITTEN BEFORE CICERO'S PROCONSULATE.

### Letters XVII.-XXX.

This series contains a selection from the letters written between Cicero's return from exile and his departure for his province. Cicero relates in the earlier letters the events which immediately followed on his restoration:—His reception at Rome (xvii.); the restoration of his house (xviii.), and Clodius's subsequent attacks on him (xix.); the impeachment of Milo by Clodius (xxi.); the affair of Ptolemy (xx. xxiii.). Cicero still dwells on the importance of his services to the state, and requests Lucceius to write a history of his consulate, that those services might be more generally recognised (xxii.). At the same time he enters into closer relations with the triumvirs, and explains his change of policy in the famous letter to Lentulus (xxviii.). Justly offended with Pompey, who had abandoned him to Clodius, he draws nearer to Caesar, as we see from his letters to Quintus, who was now a legatus of Caesar in Gaul (xxvi. xxvii. xxix.), and from a letter of his own to Caesar (xxv.). In another letter we have an interesting description of Pompey's games (xxiv.); and in the last letter of this period he shows the general corruption of the public magistracies (xxx.).

### Letter XVII.

This letter describes the circumstances attending Cicero's return to Rome, and the proceedings which followed in the senate, concluding with the appointment of Pompey to the supreme authority in supplying the city with provisions. Pompey offered Cicero the post of *legatus* under himself on this commission. He speaks confidently of his own prospects, and apparently failed to see that he was reduced to the position of a mere dependant upon Pompey. Cicero entered Rome September 4. Spoke in the senate and before the people, September 5. On September 7, voted for Pompey's appointment, which was made on September 8.

1. *Cognoram enim.*] He here reviews shortly Atticus's previous conduct towards him, accusing Atticus of having rather aided him than checked him in the madness which led to his exile, while at the same time he recognises the efforts he had made for him during his exile. (Compare Letter xiv.)

2. *Exegero.*] Cicero means that he will now have to make up for the time lost, and to exact to the full interest on the goodwill of Atticus, of which he has been unable to avail himself in past time.

3. *In re familiari.*] Cicero was now pressed by heavy pecuniary liabilities, arising out of the destruction and confiscation of his property. We shall see that he was not at all contented with the sums voted to him by the senate, and talked of selling one of his estates (xviii. 7).

*Tuarum . . . facultatum.*] Atticus had lately received a large fortune (about 10,000,000 sesterces) from Q. Caecilius (i. 3), and had liberally laid his means at Cicero's disposal. (*Ad Att.* iii. 20.)

4. *Tuae vicinae Salutis.*] The Temple of Salus on the Quirinal Hill, near Atticus's house. Brundisium was not at this time a *colonia*, but a

*municipium*; but Cicero is speaking of its original foundation as a colony, B.C. 244.

5. *Nomenclatori.*] Compare xi. 9 note.

*Ad Capitolium.*] Whither he went, as if in triumph, to thank the gods for his return.

*Senatui gratiam egimus.*] On the genuineness of the speeches now preserved, *In Senatu*, and *Ad Quirites post reditum*, see note in Abeken, p. 155.

6. *Annonæ.*] There was great scarcity at this moment in Rome, and violent outbreaks of the people, who at one time rushed to the theatre and drove out all the spectators who were assembled at the Ludi Romani (from September 4–19). Clodius had attempted to persuade the people that the scarcity was to be ascribed to Cicero. Pompey was universally desired to undertake the management of the market, and Cicero was persuaded to propose his appointment. Compare the speech *Pro Domo* cap. 5.

*Messallam.*] See iii. 6.

*Afranius.*] See iv. 12.

*Quod tuto se negarent.*] On account of the people who were crowding round the senate-house, and were clamouring for Pompey's appointment.

*Habui concionem.*] The speech *Post reditum ad Quirites.* See above. All the magistrates present except Appius Claudius Pulcher, the praetor, the brother of Clodius, and two tribunes, Numerius Quintus Rufus and Sex. Atilius Serranus, gave him leave to address the people, *dederunt concionem.* A private citizen could not speak without leave from a magistrate, but was often called on by the tribunes, or other magistrates, to come forward. These three magistrates had previously opposed the law for his recall. Cicero speaks very contemptuously of these two tribunes in his speech against Piso (cap. 15), calling them 'duos de lapide emptos tribunos,' 'two tribunes picked up out of the slave-market.'

7. *Legatos.*] See Introduction and xviii. 6.

*Messius.*] C. Messius, one of the *tribuni plebis.* We find in the oration *In Senatu post reditum*, that he had previously proposed a law for Cicero's recall. He is there classed among Cicero's friends with P. Sextius, T. Fadius, and others (cap. 8). Although Cicero strongly disapproved this proposal of Messius, he contented himself with silence, not wishing to offend Pompey. Pompey professed to prefer the *senatus consultum*, though he probably secretly put Messius forward. It was his great object to be again in command of an army.

*Nostra lex.*] He calls it his own, because the *senatus consultum* was made 'in Ciceronis sententiam.' *Consularis*, because it was brought forward by the consuls.

*Favonio.*] See note on vi. 9.

*Pontifices.*] The question of religion involved in the restoration of Cicero's house had to be determined by the augurs. Of the ground where Cicero's house had stood, part had been purchased by Clodius, through the instrumentality of one Scato, for the enlargement of his own house, which adjoined Cicero's: the rest he had dedicated to a temple of Libertas. If the pontifices were to annul this dedication, the ground would come back to Cicero, and he would also have compensation for the buildings on it (*superficies*): if not, Clodius's buildings would be pulled down, and the consuls themselves would build a new shrine, giving com-

pensation for the ground as well as the buildings (*rem totam*). *Superficies* was often applied to the buildings, trees, &c. that stood on ground; 'omnia quae terram superant.' A property was said to consist of two parts, the *solum* and the *superficies*. Compare Livy, v. 54. 'Adeo nihil tenet solum patriae, nec haec terra quam matrem appellamus; sed in superficie tignisque caritas nobis patriae pendet?' *Aestimabunt*; in order to give Cicero compensation. *Suo nomine locabunt*: They would make a new contract for a temple in their own name. It is clear from what Cicero says to Lentulus (xxviii. 15) that three years later this part of his property had not been restored to him.

*Ut in secundis.*] This is, perhaps, an iambic tetrameter from some poet. See xviii. 1.

*Quaedam domestica.*] Probably some quarrel with his wife. See xviii. 7.

*Alterius vitae.*] He elsewhere calls his restoration from exile a παλιγγενεσία. (*Att.* vi. 6.)

## Letter XVIII.

Cicero details the course of the transactions connected with the restoration of his house. He delivered an oration before the pontifices on the 30th of September. The decision virtually was that Clodius's consecration of the temple was illegal. This judgment was supported by the senate, in spite of the opposition of Clodius. The measure was carried, and compensation made to Cicero.

2. *Diximus apud Pontifices.*] This oration, *Pro Domo sua*, is still extant.

*Deberi non potest.*] 'I cannot refuse our young scholars the use of such a good speech.' Compare vi. 3. For this use of *debeo* 'To keep back something which ought to be given,' compare *De Oratore* iii. 5: 'An me tam impudentem esse existimatis ut vobis hoc praesertim munus putem diutius posse debere?'

3. *Eam partem areae.*) The part on which Clodius had built the temple. See note on xvii. 7. The decree was, 'if he who had consecrated the temple had done it without the authority of the people, the area might, without sacrilege, be restored to Cicero.'

*Ille.*] Clodius. *Concionem dedit.* See note on xvii. 6. Appius was praetor, and could therefore allow Clodius to speak. *Secundum se* 'in his favour.'

*Illuc.*] Viz. *ad aream.* Cicero would not proceed to take possession of his property until the senate should have decreed the restoration of the Porch of Catulus. This porch had been built from the proceeds of his Cimbric campaign on the site of the house of M. Fulvius Flaccus, who had been executed for his complicity with the projects of C. Gracchus.

4. *Qui erant senatores.*] For the others could not attend the senate. Plebeians had been first admitted to the Pontifical College by the Ogulnian Law, B. C. 300. Since Sulla's time their number was fifteen.

*Marcellinus.*] Cn. Cornelius Marcellinus, consul designate with L. Marcius Philippus. The *consules designati* were asked to give their

votes before the other senators. *A quibus* refers to *senatus,* the clause concerning the pontifices being parenthetical.

*M. Lucullus.*] He was a younger brother of the great L. Lucullus.

*Quisque horum.*] The pontifices were now asked in their proper turn as senators, (*suo quisque loco,* for they had no standing as *pontifices* there) for their votes on the senatus consultum (*de lege*). They had already in their collective capacity settled the question of *religio.*

*Clodium.*] All that Clodius could do was to speak against time, to try and protract the debate till sunset. But the senate put him down at last and carried their point.

*Odio.*] 'Impatience.' The original sense of *odium* was 'weariness.' Compare Ter. *Eun.* iii. 1. 14. 'Negoti si quando odium ceperat.' Thence in active sense 'importunity,' as in Horace, *Sat.* I. vii. 6. 'Durus homo atque odio qui posset vincere Regem.'

*Serranus.*] A tribune of the plebs (see xvii. 6) acting for Clodius. The consuls called on the senate to force Serranus to withdraw his *veto,* and to maintain their privileges (*auctoritatem*) which would be impugned if this *senatus consultum* were not allowed to pass. This they did by declaring that if any violence (including the *intercessio*) were used against their decree, they would hold the author of it responsible. The term *senatus auctoritas* signified a resolution of the senate which had been vetoed; but the words 'auctoritatem ordinis' have evidently a more general sense.

*Cornicinus.*] Cn. Oppius Cornicinus. He had previously interceded with Serranus, who was his son-in-law, when he opposed Lentulus's bill on the 1st of January for Cicero's recall. It was the old piece of 'play acting over again,' Cicero says.

*Noctem sibi postulavit.*] The full phrase was 'Noctem sibi ad deliberandum postulavit,' as we should say, 'He moved the adjournment of the debate.' It was in fact an indirect kind of *veto.* He had done this on the 1st of January too. Cicero seems (if the text of this letter is correct) to have persuaded the senate to yield Serranus this point. He says it was granted him reluctantly after all by *his* own desire, and that the decree was passed on the following day. It would seem from the speech *De Haruspicum Responsis* that the whole matter was transacted in one day (cap. 7).

5. *Illam porticum.*] Clodius's building, which he had connected with the Porch of Catulus.

*H. S. vicies.*] It had cost him three and a half million sesterces. Cicero was discontented with the sums given him; 'and here,' says Abeken, 'we may discern the first seeds of that discontent which caused him in the year following to throw himself into the arms of Caesar' (p. 159). Compare the language of Cicero in his famous letter to Lentulus, in which he complains that his friends had contented themselves with restoring him to life, but not to good health, and had left the work of his restoration incomplete, as Apelles did his Venus (xxviii. 15).

*Illi—qui mihi pinnas inciderant.*] Pompey, Hortensius, &c. Otherwise, he says, his not having pushed his claims would have been in his favour.

*Varronis.*] Compare xiv. 1. Varro was apparently visiting Atticus in Epirus.

6. *Petere.*] Cicero agreed to accept this *legatio* (xvii. 7) only on condition that he might, if he wished, be a candidate for the office of censor, or apply for a *legatio votiva.* The *legatio votiva* was leave given to a senator to travel in fulfilment of a vow, with the usual privileges of a *legatus*, or envoy of the Republic. 'It is evident,' Orelli says, 'that the words "omnium fanorum, lucorum" are added in joke.' What Cicero wanted was the power of remaining in Rome, or leaving it, as should suit him; and with this view Pompey's offer was very convenient.

7. *Domus aedificatur.*] The building was interrupted on the 3rd of November by a hired gang of Clodius, who pulled down the portico of Catulus, and set fire to Quintus Cicero's house. A few days after they attacked Cicero in the Via Sacra. (Letter xix).

*Nec relinquere.*] He was too much attached to this property to give it up, and yet he could not bear to see it in its present state.

*Suburbano non facile careo.*] Although he could not well dispense with a house so near Rome, he had advertised it for sale, though he did not, after all, sell it.

*Amicorum benignitas.*] Cicero seems to have availed himself of the help of his friends in some intrigues (*in ea re*, &c.), probably for a larger indemnification for his property, which were not altogether creditable, and which were thwarted by his powerful friends. (This is the most probable explanation of this passage. It cannot refer to his restoration, for Atticus was then in Rome.)

*Cetera quae me sollicitant.*] Probably his family affairs (xvii. 7). He does not mention his wife here; their disputes had probably begun.

## Letter XIX.

Cicero gives an account of Clodius's attack on his house and himself, already noticed on xviii. 7, and of the conflicts between Clodius and Milo. The letter was written on the 24th of November.

2. *Ex nostra area.*] The stones that were lying there in readiness for the rebuilding of Cicero's house.

*Quum judicium tollebat.*] Earlier in the year he had been impeached by Milo, but protected by Metellus. The whole story is told by Cicero in his speech for Sextius, c. 35–43. See Middleton's *Cicero*, vol. i. p. 333-336.

*Decimum.*] Decimus and Gellius, infamous tools of Clodius.

For *designator* see Horat. *Epist.* I. vii. 6: 'Dum ficus prima calorque Designatorem decorat lictoribus atris.' This man was an undertaker. There were other *designatores*, who arranged the spectators at games (Plaut. *Paenul.* prol. 19; note on Terence, *Adelphi*, i. 2, 7); others who presided over gymnastic contests—the Greek βραβευταί.

3. *Operas.*] Compare *operae Clodianae*, iii. 5.

*Diaeta curari.*] 'I am now more for mild treatment than for dangerous operations.'

*Acidinos.*] C. Manlius Acidinus, one of Catiline's conspirators. Clodius imitated the conduct of the Catilines and Acidini. For 'reddidit' in this sense compare Virg. *Æn.* vi. 768: 'Et qui te nomine reddet, Silvius Aeneas.' The omission of 'et' is common in Cicero. The explanation 'He made all the Catilines (those who were for secret measures) Acidini

(bold and open traitors)' is harsh; and Cicero had just spoken of Clodius as utterly deserted by his former associates.

*Germalo.*] The Germalum was a lower elevation of the Palatine Hill, so named, according to Roman authorities, as having been the spot where the brothers Romulus and Remus (*germani*) were exposed. Milo had another house, called '*Anniana.*'

*Sulla in senatu.*] He came, probably, to clear himself from the suspicion of having countenanced Clodius.

*Marcellinus.*] Compare xviii. 4.

*Metellus.*] The consul. *Appius*, the praetor. *Tuo*, Hortensius. *Sextius*, Cicero's friend the tribune (xv. 4). *Ille*, Clodius.

*Comitiis anteferret.*] Marcellinus demanded that Clodius should be tried for his several outrages before the *comitia*; for if Clodius were elected aedile, he would escape.

*De caelo servaturum.*] For Marcellinus, being as yet *privatus*, had not the right of 'spectio:' was not able 'de caelo servare.' For this phrase see Ramsay's *Rom. Ant.* p. 112, 113, and note on viii. 1: 'Lex Aelia.' If the magistrate saw lightning, he 'obnuntiabat' to the magistrate presiding at the comitia; but the mere 'spectio' was held to invalidate the comitia. Metellus, however, declared that he would hold the comitia, unless interrupted by an actual 'obnuntiatio,' sent to him in the Campus Martius, where the elections were held. Metellus endeavoured to elude Milo, by changing the place of meeting from day to day; but Milo was always ready, and at last seems to have tired out his rivals. Milo was one of the tribunes, and had therefore the right of *spectio.*

4. *Publii.*] Clodii. He calls them afterwards the 'fratres tres,' whose efforts were 'turpes,' discreditable to themselves.

*Inter lucos.*] Metellus, after giving out that he would hold the comitia in the Forum, and bringing Milo there soon after midnight, stole away to the Campus, hoping to get the comitia over before Milo could interrupt him. Milo, however, followed him by the hollow called *inter duos lucos*, the traditional seat of the 'Asylum' of Romulus, and was in time to stop him. For the place see Livy, i. 8: 'Loco qui nunc septus densis septibus inter duos lucos est Asylum aperit.'

5. *Marcellus.*] C. Claudius Marcellus was one of the candidates for the aedileship, but he was wise enough to lie in bed, knowing that Milo would take care there should be no election.

*In illo heroe.*] Milo. By the following words, 'nova divina,' he perhaps means, 'I omit some late glorious deeds of his.'

*Occisum iri.*] As actually happened four years later.

*Casum illum nostrum.*] 'Milo does not fear being exiled as I was, for the death of treasonable citizens.' Milo was exiled, and retired to Massilia.

*Invidi.*] Cicero seems to refer to Hortensius and Pompey (xiii. 8; xiv. 4).

## LETTER XX.

Early in the year 698 the question was debated whether Rome should reinstate Ptolemaeus Auletes in his kingdom. The late consul Lentulus had been promised this commission, and was now in Cilicia, waiting for

his appointment; but now Pompey was desirous of getting it into his own hands, as an indirect means of putting himself once more at the head of an army. At this moment a Sibylline oracle was found to the effect that 'Assistance might be given to an Egyptian sovereign, but not with force of numbers;' which led to the abandonment of the idea of employing of an army. The question was now of the appointment of Lentulus or Pompey, the former of whom Cicero was in favour of, although he did not wish to offend Pompey, who was secretly promoting his own claims, while he supported Lentulus in the senate. The senate were generally inclined to Lentulus. The affair was for some time before the senate. After a time, Pompeius, finding his own appointment hopeless, came forward as a zealous friend of Lentulus, and advised him to restore the king on his own responsibility (see Letter xxiii.). The matter was ended by Gabinius, proconsul of Syria, who, by force of arms, and with the approval of Pompey, restored the king to his throne, receiving money from Ptolemy. He was tried on this charge, and exiled, but afterwards recalled by Caesar. This letter was written on January 13th.

1. *Tuorum erga me meritorum.*] Lentulus had been chiefly instrumental in the restoration of Cicero.

*Ammonius.*] The king himself had left Rome early in the previous December, leaving behind him Ammonius to conduct his cause.

*Religionis calumniam.*] Compare 'Haec tamen opinio est populi Romani, a tuis invidis atque obtrectatoribus nomen inductum fictae religionis.'—*Ad Div.* i. 4.

2. *Infamiam.*] On the ground of avarice, or of ingratitude to Lentulus, who had supported him on his appointment to the *curatio annonae.*

*Marcellinus.*] See xviii. 4. He was now consul with L. Marcius Philippus. He seems to have disputed the genuineness of the oracle.

*Quod dat.* This is explained in the next section.

3. *Te auctorem.*] Lentulus was to restore Pompey by the exercise of his influence, without employing an army.

*Nec excludit Pompeium.*] Pompey was 'cum imperio,' as the 'curator annonae' (xvii. 7). The magistrates 'cum imperio' were consuls, praetors, quaestors, proconsuls, and propraetors. No magistrate could command an army, or hold the Comitia Centuriata, till the *imperium* had been bestowed on him by a *lex curiata.* The minor magistrates, such as the tribuni plebis and aediles, had *potestas* but not *imperium.*

*Servilium.*] Son of P. Servilius Isauricus (see xxi. 2).

*Lupo.*] P. Rutilius Lupus, tribune of the plebs.

*Volcatium.*] L. Volcatius Tullus, consul B.C. 66. In the Civil War he endeavoured, with Lepidus, to mediate between Caesar and Pompey.

*Afranium.*] See iv. 12.

*Inclinata res est.*] In dubio est. The end of the contest was as yet undecided, though success seemed to incline to Pompey.

*Libonis et Hypsaei.*] These were probably now tribunes of the plebs.

*Scribonius Libo,* father-in-law of Sextus Pompeius, and afterwards of Augustus, who married his daughter (or some say, sister) Scribonia (B.C. 40). In the Civil War, he commanded part of Pompey's fleet; and after Pharsalia joined Sextus Pompeius. He was with Antony,

consul A.U.C. 720, B.C. 34. Cicero speaks of him in a letter to Atticus. 'Quid Libonem praetermissurum sceleris putas.' (*Ad Att.* ix. 11). *P. Plautius Hypsaeus* had been Pompey's quaestor in the war with Mithridates.

*Concursatio.*] In soliciting votes. Compare 'concursabant barbatuli juvenes' (iii. 5).

4. *In rebus.*] Cicero complains that his influence is thwarted by the emissaries of the king, and privately by Pompey's friends, as well as by his open enemies. Compare xviii. 5.

## Letter XXI.

Clodius was chosen aedile on the 22nd January, in spite of the opposition of Milo (xix.). On the 3rd of February he instituted a process against Milo *De Vi*, on account of his conduct during the disturbances of the previous year, before Cicero's recall. Pompey came forward in favour of Milo, from a desire to ingratiate Cicero. Both he and Clodius were interrupted by the clamours of the audience, and the tumults that ensued. Crassus opposed Pompey, aided by C. Cato the tribune, who endeavoured to foment dissension between Pompey and Cicero. Pompey complained to Cicero that his life was in danger, and took measures for calling numbers of his country friends into Rome to protect him. Pompey saw that his popularity was on the wane, and became more anxious to connect himself with Cicero.

At this time Cicero defended the late tribune P. Sextius, who was now indicted for the employment of force in the preceding year, in conjunction with Milo. Hortensius also spoke in his defence: and Sextius was acquitted. Cicero also defended L. Bestia, accused of bribery when a candidate for the prætorship.

This letter was written on the 12th of February.

1. *Legationes* (note on xxxvi. 5).

*Milo adfuit.*] Milo appeared to answer to Clodius's charge.

*Marcellus.*] This was M. Marcellus, consul in A.U.C. 703, when he demanded the recall of Caesar (see Letter xxxvi.), and scourged a citizen of Novum Comum to irritate the founder of that colony. He was murdered in exile by P. Magius Chilo. Cicero wrote to him advising him to make peace with Caesar (Letter lxxiv.), and describing the measures taken to ensure his recall (lxxv.). His death is described in a letter from Ser. Sulpicius to Cicero (lxxxii.).

*De ornandis praetoribus.*] When a magistrate was about to leave Rome, the senate gave him his equipments, deciding the number of his troops, and *legati*, his allowance for outfit, *vasarium*, and other necessaries. This was *Provinciam ornare.* On this whole subject, see Ramsay, *Rom. Ant.* pp. 184–188.

*Cato.*] See xi. 15. His proposal was to recall Lentulus, and thus disappoint him of his expected commission for restoring Ptolemy (xx.). He afterwards made himself ridiculous by purchasing a band of gladiators, which he was unable to maintain (xxiii. 2). On this occasion, the son of Lentulus appeared in mourning to move the citizens.

2. *Operae Clodianae.*] See iii. 5.

*Clodiam.*] The wife of Metellus, the most notorious of Clodius's sisters. See vi. 5, viii. 1.

*Servilius.*] P., son of Servilius Isauricus. See v. 9, vi. 10. He was afterwards praetor with C. Cato in A.U.C. 700. For the others here mentioned, see Index of Names, &c.

*Quirinalia.*] Celebrated on 17th February (xiii. Kal Mart.)

3. *Apollinis.*] The senate went here, because Pompey was afraid to go far from home, for fear of Clodius's violence. This was the temple on the Palatine. The other Templum Apollinis was in the Prata Flaminia. See note on xxxvi. 5.

*Crassum descripsit.*] 'Descripsit' in a bad sense. Compare Horat. *Sat.* I. iv. 3. 'Si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus et fur.' Ernesti explains, 'Spoke indirectly against Crassus.'

*Africanus.*] Publius Aemilianus Scipio, supposed to have been murdered by Papirius Carbo, during the contests concerning the agrarian law of Tiberus Gracchus. See Mommsen, *History of Rome*, book iv. chap. iii. Merivale, chap. i.

4. *Concionario populo.*] Compare 'Illa concionalis hirudo aerarii misera ac jejuna plebecula,' iv. 11. The miserable mob, who ran together to hear the speeches of the tribunes.

*Gallia.*] On the importance of Gallia in a political contest, see note on i. 2.

5. *Sextius.*] P. Sextius (xv. 4) was indicted for 'ambitus,' in canvassing for the office of quaestor which he held in Cicero's consulship.

*Pupinia.*] Of the 'Pupinia,' one of the *tribus rusticae.*

*M. Tullio.*] Albinovano.

*De Vi.*] He was impeached under the Lex Lutatia, B.C. 78, which was supplemental to the Lex Plautia, passed B.C. 89. *Vis*, as a technical offence, was the levying arms against the state by organising tumultuous bands to impede the magistrates in the discharge of their duties. (See x. 4.) Cicero defended him successfully in his speech *Pro Sextio*, which has come down to us, and is valuable as containing a review of the whole course of his relations to Clodius.

*Ei jure succensere.*] Sextius seems to have given Cicero some ground for complaint He says of him, 'In defendendo moroso homine cumulatissime satisfecimus, et (id quod ille maxime cupiebat) Vatinium, a quo palam oppugnabatur, arbitratu nostro concidimus, diis hominibusque plaudentibus.' (*Ad Q. Fr.* ii. 4). This speech against Vatinius is also preserved.

*Edidit ad allegatos.*] There is in this passage, as well as in the speech *Pro Cluentio* (xiii. 39) an alternative reading *alligatos.* The reading of the text is best supported, and according to it, the *allegati* were commissioners employed to take the preliminary evidence of Nerius. Compare the Greek ἀντωμοσία. According to another interpretation these *allegati* were persons provided by Sextius to aid him in promoting his attacks on Clodius. If we adopt the first interpretation, the sense is that Nerius laid his charge before these commissioners, which seems the most natural meaning.

*Sodalitates decuriatique.*] These were the clubs which had been got

together by Clodius for his factious purposes, and were now to be dissolved on pain of action *de vi* against their members. See note on xiv. 4.

6. *Bestia.*] L. Bestia had been engaged in the Catilinarian conspiracy, and had undertaken to attack Cicero in the assembly: a project which was thwarted by Cicero's vigilance. He had since been aedile, and had stood unsuccessfully for the praetorship, notwithstanding his bribery; on which charge he was now defended by Cicero, who speaks of him in his speech for Caelius as an intimate friend (cap. 11). He was convicted and banished. At a later period he joined Antony at Mutina. This defence of Bestia, he says, served him as a good preparation for his defence of Sextius.

*Sextius.*] In the riots of January in the previous year, Sextius had been wounded and left for dead, and escaped, as Cicero implies here, by the aid of Bestia. There is a vivid description of the scene in his oration for Sextius (capp. 37, 38).

7. *Pomponium.*] This was the marriage of Atticus to Pilia. Their daughter Caecilia, or Pomponia (called by Cicero *Attica*), was the wife of M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the minister of Augustus, and their daughter Agrippina became the wife of the emperor Tiberius.

*Kal. Quint.*] The usual term at which the leases of houses expired.

*Olbiensem.*] A letter written from Olbia in Sardinia. From the last sentence, we conclude that the climate of Sardinia was considered unhealthy, even in winter.

## Letter XXII.

In this letter to Lucceius, Cicero begs him very urgently to undertake a history of his life, from his consulship until his return from exile. 'This letter,' says Abeken, 'however we may be disposed to palliate particular expressions, in consideration of the circumstances under which it is written, is a standing monument of his vanity, and of the self-esteem which animated him, even at a time when his influence in the Republic had dwindled to a mere shadow.' He thought highly of it himself, and in writing to Atticus speaks of it as 'valde bella' (*Ad Att.* iv. 6); and it is certainly written in a far more finished and studied style than that of his ordinary letters.

Cicero had probably, in asking Lucceius to write this work, the political object of recalling to the minds of his contemporaries his past services, and thus meeting the misrepresentations to which he had been subjected since his return from exile. It would be shown by such a history that his present connection with Caesar had been forced upon him by the desertion of his natural friends. Whether he was in earnest in desiring Lucceius to sacrifice, if necessary, historical accuracy (sect. 3) may be doubted. The verdict of Quintilian concerning Cicero's praises of his own career is well known. 'At plerumque illud non sine aliqua ratione fecit: aut enim tuebatur eos quibus erat usus adjutoribus in opprimenda conjuratione, aut respondebat invidiae: cui tamen non fuit par, servatae patriae poenam passus exilium, ut eorum, quae egerat in consulatu, frequens commemoratio possit videri non gloriae magis quam defensioni data.'—*Quintil.* xi. 1. 17.

*L. Lucceius.*] See note on vi. 9. He had at the date of this letter

nearly finished his histories of the Italian or Social, and of the Civil War between Marius and Sulla.

1. *Commemoratio posteritatis.*] Memoria. Compare, 'Nihil est quod minus mea commemoratione celebratum sit.'—*Pro Plancio*, cap. 40.

2. *Callisthenes.*] Native of Olynthus and scholar of Aristotle. Wrote a history of Greece during the Sacred War. Hence it is conjectured that we should read 'Crisaeicum,' or 'Phocicum.' Matthiae and Schütz keep the text. Hoffman (in Haupt and Sauppe's edition) reads 'Phocicum.' Callisthenes accompanied Alexander to the east, and there was put to death.

*Timaeus.*] Native of Tauromenium, in Sicily. Wrote history of Sicily down to the year B.C. 264, where Polybius begins, and also a special work on Pyrrhus' campaigns. Cicero speaks highly of him (*De Orat.* ii. 14) in point of style.

*Ac statim.*] Sed potius statim. Compare xiv. 4.

3. *Herculem Xenophontium.*] Alluding to the fable of Prodicus, called 'The Choice of Hercules,' given by Xenophon, *Memor.* ii. 1. 21.

4. *Habet enim.*] Compare the Greek line

'Αλλ' ἡδύ τοι σωθέντα μεμνῆσθαι πόνων,

translated by Cicero in *De Finibus*, ii. 32.

Suavis laborum est praeteritorum memoria;

where he also quotes the proverb 'Jucundi acti labores.'

5. *Ceteris vero.*] Compare the well-known lines—

'Suave mari magno, turbantibus aequora ventis,
E terra magnum alterius spectare laborem;
Non quia vexari quemquam 'st jucunda voluptas,
Sed quibus ipse malis careas quia cernere suave est.'
*Lucr.* ii. 1–4.

*Epaminondas.*] According to C. Nepos, Epaminondas asked which side was victorious. In the *De Finibus*, Cicero makes him ask both questions (ii. 30).

*Themistocli.*] But Themistocles never returned from exile, and Cicero is not likely to have made the mistake. It is probable that *interitu* is the true reading, instead of *reditu*.

6. *Actiones.*] The parts attributed to the several actors in the play, or the scenes in the several acts.

7. *Alexander.*] Compare the lines of Horace—

'Idem rex ille, poema
Qui tam ridiculum tam care prodigus emit,
Edicto vetuit ne quis se praeter Apellem
Pingeret, aut alius Lysippo duceret aera
Fortis Alexandri vultum simulantia.'
*Epist.* II. i. 237-241.

*Ignotis.*] Ignaris. Compare 'Putabam non solum notis sed etiam ignotis probatam meam fidem esse.' *Verr.* I. vii. 19. And on the contrary, 'Mare magnum et ignara lingua commercia prohibebant.' Sallust, *Jug.* xviii.

*Xenophontis.*] The treatise called Λόγος εἰς 'Αγησίλαον. The same thing is told of Agesilaus by Plutarch and Xenophon.

*Timaeo.*] See sect. 2.

*Achilli.*] 'Alexander cum in Sigeo ad Achillis tumulum adstitisset, O fortunate, inquit, adolescens, qui tuae virtutis Homerum praeconem inveneris.'—*Pro Archia*, cap. 10.:—

*Hector.*] This line is taken from a play of Naevius, called *Hector Proficiscens*. It is a tetrameter trochaic. catal.:—

Laetus sum laudari me abs te, pater, a laudato viro.

We have it quoted again in Letter xlii.

8. *Scribam ipse de me.*] Cicero had sometime previously written a commentary on his consulship in Greek, as well as a poem. See Letters v. 10; vi. 1. His Latin work on the same subject was not finished, and he promises to complete it for Lucceius's use.

*Praecones.*] It appears from the passages quoted by Matthiae, that the heralds were allowed to contend for a special prize after the other contests were over.

## Letter XXIII.

The affair of Ptolemy has already been fully explained in the introduction to Letter xx. As yet Lentulus was in doubt whether he should receive the commission which had been promised him. In this letter Cicero explains to Lentulus the state of the question up to this time, particularly dwelling on the part taken by Pompey in the matter. He repeats to him Pompey's advice: that he should take the matter into his own hands, go to Alexandria, and, after pacifying Egypt, then let Ptolemy return quietly. Thus he would, at one and the same time, carry out the decree of the senate for the restoration of the king, and avoid any breach of the oracle which forbade that he should be restored by force. He shows him that this course, if successful, would gain him great renown, and would be approved by all the better men at Rome. The advice was not adopted by Lentulus, probably because he doubted the sincerity of Pompey in offering it.

1. *Quem tu me esse voluisti.*] 'If I am to show myself the sort of man that you expected to find me when you promoted my recall from exile.'

2. *Simillimam.*] Cicero's former position in some respects resembled the present position of Lentulus. Then it was Cicero who was opposed at Rome by enemies and supported by Lentulus; now Lentulus was subject to similar attacks, and Cicero was ready to support him. He draws out the parallel further in sect. 8. We can hardly, however, allow Cicero the credit of having thrown himself into the cause of Lentulus as honestly as Lentulus had done into his.

*L. Racilium.*] Tribune of the plebs, opposed to Clodius and C. Cato. He had supported Milo's attempted impeachment of Clodius. Later in this year he played C. Cato the practical joke of putting up for sale the school of gladiators which C. Cato had been obliged to part with, as he was not able to maintain them. Compare xxi. 1.

*Officii.*] Cicero's support of Lentulus would seem to people in general to be due rather to his friendship than to his true opinion on the merits of the case. Compare xx. 4.

3. *Non saepe in senatu fuisse.*] Being *curator annonae* at that time (xvii. 6), he could not enter Rome without leave from the senate. He was indebted to Lentulus, as Cicero here says, for the pains Lentulus had taken to procure him that appointment.

*Suae cupiditatis.*] Pompey was supposed to wish to get for himself the commission to restore Ptolemy. See xx. 3.

*Caniniano.*] When the tribune Caninius proposed that Pompey should be sent with two lictors to restore Ptolemy. It was strongly suspected that this proposal was made by Pompey's instigation.

4. *Auctoritas.*] The resolution of the senate, which had been vetoed. See note on xviii. 4. *Tantam vim,* Tantillam vim.

*Ptolemaide.*] The modern St. Jean d'Acre. This would be at a convenient distance for Ptolemy to wait till he heard that his country was ready to receive him.

*Sibyllae.*] The reputed Sibylline Books were burnt in the Capitol, B.C. 83; but a fresh collection had been made by commissioners sent to Cumae and Erythrae.

5. *Offensionem.*] If Lentulus were to fail, he would be considered as having violated the *auctoritas* of the senate and the sanctity of the oracle. If he succeeded no one would blame him.

*Dimicatione.*] He was to overawe or persuade the Egyptians to receive Ptolemy, but not to engage in a contest with them if they proved obstinate.

6. *Placebat illud.*] Cicero proposes a less decided course. Lentulus's friends were to lend Ptolemy the money to equip an expedition, and Lentulus was to give this scheme his support and material assistance. Ptolemy was at this time at Ephesus (where he had placed himself under the protection of Diana), probably to be near Lentulus, and was there making as liberal a use of his gold as he had done at Rome. Lentulus from the position of his province could control his movements.

*Regio.*] Geographical position.

7. *De nostro statu.*] Compare xvii. 3. This whole question is fully discussed in the well-known letter to this same Lentulus (xxviii.) Cicero speaks of his present success as the work of Lentulus. See sect. 1.

*Levitate.*] Clodius's *levitas* was shown by his continual outrages against the laws; his *imbecillitas*, by his failing to carry his projects.

*Abalienarunt.*] The envy of the optimates had driven Cicero into the arms of the triumvirs; not that he had forgotten his dignity, but because he was obliged to consult his own safety.

8. *Novitati.*] 'I see now,' says Cicero, 'that it was not merely because I was a *novus homo* that they were so envious of me, for they are equally envious of you, and afraid of your becoming too great. And yet your fortune is better than mine was; for my very life was in danger, you are only deprived of glory.' *Meae*; supply *fortunae.*

*Curasti enim.*] The glory of Cicero's return (brought about by Lentulus) outweighed the injury done him by his banishment.

9. *Liberalitatis.*] Lentulus, when aedile, had surpassed all his predecessors in the splendour of the shows which he gave to the people. 'Omnes P. Lentulus, me consule, vicit superiores.'—*De Officiis*, ii. 16.

*Haec .. meditere.*] *Haec*, the state of affairs at Rome. Lentulus, in all that he did abroad, was to keep in view the effect it would have on his prospects at Rome, and to make every thing lead to his advancement there.

*Eventis communibus.*] For both had been deserted by those friends on whom they thought they could rely.

10. The opponents of the triumvirs, Cicero says, had by their folly, played into their hands.

*Stipendium.*] Caesar, now in his third campaign in Gaul, had applied to the senate,—1. For pay for his army; 2. For the power of choosing ten legati; 3. That his command should be prolonged for five years. All these requests were granted after considerable opposition, the last at the beginning of the following year (see Introd. to xxiv.), and Caesar was empowered to raise his army to ten legions. Cicero does not mention here that he had supported Caesar's claims, knowing that Lentulus would be displeased at his change of policy. He calls it himself, in a letter to Atticus, a 'subturpicula παλινῳδία.' (*Att.* iv. 5.)

*Lege Sempronia.*] Passed by C. Gracchus B.C. 123, providing that the provinces should be assigned to the future consuls before their election; and that they should settle by lot after their election which each was to have. What was arranged in this case was that Gallia should not be one of the provinces thus assigned. Otherwise Caesar would have been obliged to leave his province.

11. *Crassipede.*] Calpurnius Piso, Tullia's first husband, was now dead. She was now betrothed to Furius Crassipes, from whom she was afterwards divorced, and married P. Cornelius Dolabella, in 50 B.C.

## Letter XXIV.

At the close of the preceding year (A.U.C. 698), Caesar had entered into an agreement with Pompey and Crassus, who visited him at Luca, where he spent the winter months after his first campaign against the Morini, by which Pompey and Crassus were to offer themselves for the consulship, to the exclusion of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had threatened that, if elected consul, he would propose the recall of Caesar. After a period of conflict, the new consuls entered on their office (A.U.C. 699). M. Cato was rejected in his suit for the praetorship, Vatinius being placed there by the consuls. On the proposal of the tribune Trebonius, the province of Spain was conferred on Pompey, Syria on Crassus, for terms of five years. Caesar's government was also prolonged for five years more. Pompey remained in Italy after his consulship, conducting his province through Petreius and Afranius.

At the close of the year Crassus left Rome on his fatal expedition, attended by the ill-omened denunciations of the tribune Ateius.

The games described in this letter were exhibited on the occasion of the opening of Pompey's theatre in the Campus Martius, the first stone theatre constructed in Rome. Attached to it was a temple to Venus Victrix.

The games consisted of a display of two tragedies, Greek and Oscan plays, athletes, horse races, and hunting. According to Pliny, five hundred lions and twenty elephants were slaughtered.

1. *In ista amoenitate.*] Marius had a villa near Puteoli, in a lovely situation. His health confined him much to his room, where he enjoyed himself with light reading (*lectiunculis*), and with the view over Stabiae and Misenum, for which he had opened windows in his favourite apart-

ment. Cicero envies him his comfortable repose, while he had been falling asleep over the wearisome plays and spectacles of the theatre. Of M. Marius, to whom this letter was written, we know nothing but what we gather from one or two of Cicero's letters—that he was a wealthy man, either an invalid, or a hypochondriac. At all events, he seems to have lamented over his absence from this spectacle, and perhaps Cicero's depreciatory tone is adopted to reconcile him to his absence.

*Sp. Maecius.*] Sp. Maecius Tarpa, mentioned by Horace as a licenser of plays (*Sat.* I. x. 38. *Ars Poetica,* 387). Pompey had left the choice of the plays in his hands; but Cicero does not seem from this passage to have admired his taste.

2. *Honoris causa.*] Certain veteran actors came on the stage to do honour to Pompey, who had left the stage some time since for their own credit; that is, before they were hissed off it as worn-out actors. Even Aesopus was so bad that people were not sorry when he left off. In his *chef d'oeuvre,* the oath by Jupiter, his voice broke. He was always a very violent actor. 'Vidi,' says Cicero, 'in Aesopo tantum ardorem vultuum atque motuum ut eum vis quaedam abstraxisse a sensu mentis videretur' (*De Divin.* i. 3). Horace speaks of him as a tragic actor—'Gravis Aesopus' (*A. P.* 82).

*Si sciens fallo.*] A Roman form of adjuration by Jupiter. Hŏlding a flint-stone in their hands, they said—'Si sciens fallo, tum me Diespiter, salva urbe arceque, bonis ejiciat, uti ego hunc lapidem.' Another form of the oath, with a drawn sword, is given by Livy, xxii. 53. Hannibal is made to swear a similar oath as he strikes a lamb with a stone. Livy, xxi. 45.

*Clytaemnestra.*] A play of Attius, probably imitated from Aeschylus. The mules were laden with Trojan booty; and the goblets in the *Equus Trojanus* of Livius Andronicus, formed, no doubt, part of a triumphal procession. For the judgment of Horace on these poets, see *Epist.* II. i. 56, 69, from which we may conclude that he preferred Attius. In the same epistle, he complains of the extent to which these processions had supplanted the drama (189–200).

3. *Protogeni.*] He was Marius's ἀναγνώστης, one of his *servi literati.*

*Graecos ludos.*] Comedies borrowed from the Greek. Cicero seems to have had a poor opinion of them. See *Ad Att.* xvi. 5. They were very possibly satiric dramas.

*Oscos ludos.*] Also called *Atellanae* (*fabulae*), in which the Oscan dialect was used by the performers. They were considered in early times the true national drama, and were the only plays in which a citizen could act without incurring *infamia.* These plays became so scandalous, that in the reign of Tiberius they were abolished. Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 14.

*Vel in senatu nostro.*] Some editors read *vestro,* as if Cicero meant that Marius could hear Oscan spoken in the Senate of Arpinum. But was he an Arpinas? The more likely sense is that scenes as ludicrous as any Oscan play might be seen in the Roman senate, where flattery of Caesar and Pompey excited the laughter of honest men.

*Operam et oleum perdidisse.*] Originally of study. Hence, generally, 'labour lost.' Compare 'Haec . . non deflebimus, ne et opera et oleum philologiae nostrae perierit.' (*Att.* II. xvii. 1.)

s 2

*Venationes binae.*] One in the morning, a second at noon.

*Misericordia.*] Schütz gives a quotation from Pliny, which describes the scene in striking language: 'Amissa fugae spe misericordiam vulgi inenarrabili habitu querentes supplicavere, quadam sese lamentatione complorantes, tanto populi dolore ut, oblitus imperatoris et magnificentiae honori suo exquisitae, flens universus consurgeret, dirasque Pompeio, quas ille mox luit, imprecaretur.' (Plin. viii. c. 7.)

4. *Ludis scenicis.*] As these games were not any of the regular annual solemnities, there was no cessation of public business.

*Galli Caninii.*] This was the Caninius mentioned in xxiii. 3. He was impeached on laying down his office of tribune for bribery at his election. He was a personal friend of Cicero's (see Letter lxviii.); and his connection with Pompey was another reason for defending him.

*Vita nulla est.*] Cicero's chief pleasure at this time was in his literary pursuits, and his forensic engagements were generally undertaken merely from political motives. He was now engaged on the *De Oratore*, which he mentions in the following year as completed (xxviii. 23).

5. *Humaniter vivere*] 'Jucunde simul et honeste,' Schütz.

6. *Neque in epistolis.*] Cicero hopes that Marius will come to Rome, and not oblige him to trust entirely to his letters to give his friend pleasure.

## Letter XXV.

This letter and the four following contain some interesting allusions to Cicero's relations to Caesar. Caesar had spared no pains to attach Cicero to him, and had his brother Quintus with him as a legatus, through whom he hoped to gain over the elder brother. The object of Cicero in turning to Caesar was to gain some stronger support than Pompey's in the uncertain state of affairs at Rome: and Caesar in gaining Cicero hoped to attach to his interests the party of the optimates, of which Cicero was the great representative. That Caesar must also have felt a genuine respect and liking for Cicero is proved by the extreme generosity of his conduct to him after he became supreme. In Letter xxviii. we shall have the famous apology for his own conduct which Cicero addressed to Lentulus. During this period many letters passed between Cicero and Caesar, who, even in the midst of his British invasion, found time to read and comment on Cicero's poem, on his own times, while Cicero was thinking of writing a poem on the campaign of Caesar.

Trebatius, whom Cicero here introduces to Caesar, was a lawyer, whose object seems to have been to enrich himself in Gaul. He seems to have been soon tired of the hardships of a camp, and Cicero, in a series of letters which do not fall within the purpose of this collection, jokes him on his home sickness, on the opportunities he would have of showing off his knowledge in Britain, and asks him why, as he was so good a swimmer, he did not swim there. Trebatius, later, took Pompey's side, but was pardoned by Caesar. In the reign of Augustus he was in very high repute as a lawyer. Q. Antistius Labeo was a scholar of his. Trebatius is introduced by Horace in *Sat.* II. i. (though written probably after Trebatius's death) as giving him advice on the subject of his writing satires.

1. *Quocumque exirem.*] Pompey had offered Cicero the post of *legatus* in Spain, and Cicero had thought of accompanying him there; but Pompey's stay at Rome, and Caesar's wishes, had led Cicero to remain at Rome. Pompey's conduct in staying at Rome, and administering his province by his legati, was a violation of all preceding practice, and in a letter to Caecina (lxxvi. 5), Cicero mentions this as the chief cause of the Civil War, saying that he had given Pompey contrary advice: 'Eundum in Hispaniam censui: quod si fecisset, civile bellum nullum omnino fuisset.' Even at the last moment there were some who thought that civil war might be averted by Pompey's retirement to his province. See note on xlvi. 3.

2. *Balbo.*] L. Cornelius Balbus, a native of Gades, distinguished in the Sertorian war, very intimate at Rome with Pompey and Caesar, whom he accompanied to Gaul for a time, but generally acted as the manager of Caesar's property at Rome. He was accused of being an alien, and defended by Pompey, Crassus, and Cicero, and acquitted. He tried to gain over Cicero to Caesar's side in the Civil War. After the death of Caesar he was consul, B.C. 40, being the first provincial raised to that office.

*M. Orfium.*] Of this person and of Lepta nothing is known certainly. The whole sentence is obscure. Schütz interprets it to mean, 'I will make Orfius so rich presently, that you may send him to Lepta, if you like, to pay your debts for you; for he will be indebted to you for having introduced him to me.' But, as he says, this is a mere conjecture.

3. *Milone.*] Cicero appears to have solicited Caesar's interest for Milo in his suit for the consulship; but, as Milo was a known opponent of Clodius and the triumvirs, he had used some very cautious language, on which Caesar had bantered him.

*Familiam ducit in jure civili.*] Properly speaking, the most valuable slave in a household was said *familiam ducere.* Hence, 'to take the lead.' So here, *quod familiam ducit,* 'quod est praecipuum.' Compare 'gravissima illa vestra sententia quae familiam ducit.' *De Fin.* iv. 16.

*De manu in manum.*] With the greatest care.

*Putidiusculi.*] 'I am afraid I bore you with my praises of Trebatius; and although, perhaps, you will not make allowance for me, yet, as you have always been friendly to me, you will, perhaps.'

## Letter XXVI.

This letter and the following, and Letter xxix., are interesting from the light which they throw on the relation between Marcus and Quintus Cicero. It appears from many passages in their correspondence, that Quintus had brought his brother over to cultivate Caesar's confidence, and that in general he had much influence at this time over his more gifted but less practical elder brother. Quintus was at this time a *legatus* of Caesar's in Gaul, and accompanied him to Britain. His defence of his camp in the following winter against the forces of Ambiorix, was one of the most brilliant feats of Caesar's campaigns. (See *Bell. Gall.* v. 24, &c.) In these letters we find several allusions

to Cicero's literary productions. Quintus, too, was a copious writer, if not a good one.

1. *Charta*]. On the subject of writing materials, see Ramsay's *Roman Antiq.* p. 459, or *Dict. of Antiqq.* Cicero, it seems, usually wrote with the first pen and paper that came to hand. The result was that his letter had been scarcely legible. In this case he takes pains to get the best materials.

2. *Utrum voles.*] Quintus had told his brother that he would hurry to Rome if he was exposed to any fresh attack from Clodius; but if not, he would stay in his province till he had made enough money to clear himself of debt (ad expediendum se). In reply, Cicero assures him that he is in no danger, and begs him to remain as long as necessary in his province.

3. *Explicationem debitorum.*] Quintus had incurred large debts, by helping his brother out of the public moneys entrusted to him as praetor (xiii. 7). He was now looking to ἀμφιλαφία, or plentiful wealth, as the fruit of his service with Caesar, and to the discharge of his debts. This seems to have been a favourite Greek word with Quintus, ''Ἀμφιλαφίαν illam quam tu soles dicere.' (*Ad Q. Fr.* ii. 6.) From the following words we may gather that Quintus proposed to help his brother, who was much in need of money at this time, after his outlay on his houses.

4. *Ambitus.*] He refers to the candidates for the consulship, Memmius, Domitius, Scaurus, and Messala, who were rivalling one another in corruption.

For *Memmius,* see xi. 16. He was afterwards governor of Bithynia, and was condemned *repetundarum,* and exiled by Caesar.

*Gn. Domitius Calvinus* was consul with Messala in the following year. In the Civil War he served in Egypt, Asia, and Spain for Caesar. He was consul a second time in 40 B.C.

*M. Aemilius Scaurus* had been distinguished for the splendour of his games as aedile four years before. The previous year he was praetor of Sardinia. See xxvii. 3.

*M. Valerius Messala.* See note on iii. 6. Was consul next year with Domitius. He was prosecuted by Q. Pompeius for bribery this same year, and acquitted; but afterwards condemned under the Licinian law.

For further particulars of their canvass and subsequent conduct, see Letter xxx.

–S–]. Bessibus ex triente. Another symbol for this is ZZ ex Z. The rate was raised from 4 per cent. to 8 per cent.

*Pronuntiare.*] *Polliceri se daturos.* If they got the vote of the praerogativa, it would go a good way towards their election, and therefore they were ready to pay highly for it.

*Tribunicii candidati.*] The candidates for the tribunate offered to submit their claims to Cato, each of them depositing in his hands a sum to be forfeited by those whom he condemned of any illegal practices.

## Letter XXVII.

See the introduction to Letter xxvi. This letter was written from Rome in the month Sextilis.

1. *Cogitationi vestrae.*] Vestrae refers to Quintus and Caesar.

*Ab his ipsis.*] Viz., L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, consul this year, and M. Porcius Cato.

2. *De ambitu.*] Note on xxvi. 4.

3. *Drusus.*] This is supposed to have been Livius Drusus Claudianus, the father of Livia, mother of Tiberius the emperor. He was now accused by one Lucretius of *praevaricatio*, or collusive betrayal of a cause which he had undertaken to prosecute. Cicero defended him, and he was acquitted by a majority of four, chiefly by the *tribuni aerarii*, the greater part of the senators and equites voting against him. (See note on iv. 3.)

*Vatinium.*] See note on viii. 2. Cicero incurred great blame for defending him. We find him defending himself in the following letter to Lentulus, who had reproached him for his conduct (xxviii. 19). He was equally inconsistent in defending Gabinius.

*Comitia.*] Consularia. Q. Scaevola, a tribune, had resolved to hinder any election of consuls, and succeeded in breaking up all the comitia assembled during his office.

*Scauri.*] Scaurus was accused of plundering the province of Sardinia. He was acquitted, by Cicero's exertions in his favour. He was tried before M. Cato, the praetor.

Συνδείπνους.] The allusion is to some incident in Caesar's camp, which we have no means of explaining. Cicero did not approve of what had passed there, although he considered Quintus to have acted discreetly. The Σύνδειπνοι seems to have been a satiric drama of Sophocles, founded on some incident in the Greek camp, where Achilles was annoyed at being excluded from a banquet of the chiefs. See Dindorf. *Fragm. Sophoclis.*

4. Γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας.] See Aristoph. *Aves*, 301.

5. *De nostris versibus.*] Cicero had sent a poem, probably on his times, for Caesar's approval. Caesar liked the early part of the first book, but thought the rest rather careless. Compare xxviii. 23.

## LETTER XXVIII.

This important letter contains a long defence of Cicero's change of policy towards the leading men of Rome. From his original connection with Pompey, he had now entered into as close a friendship with Caesar, by which he had been led to defend Vatinius and Gabinius, and to seek a reconciliation with Crassus. These relations he vindicates at length, in answer to a letter in which Lentulus had reproached him with his inconsistency. The latter part of the letter is occupied with the subject of his literary labours, Lentulus's domestic affairs, and those of Quintus Cicero. This letter was written in the month of September.

1. *Hoc tempore omni.*] Lentulus had gone into Cilicia, immediately after his consulship, two years before, and remained till the end of the present year, when he was succeeded by Appius Claudius.

2. *Te esse imperatorem.*] Lentulus had been proclaimed 'imperator' by his soldiers for a victory, on account of which he afterwards triumphed. *Ad Att.* v. xxi. 4.

*Ille perennis inimicus.*] C. Cato, who two years before had proposed

that Lentulus should be recalled. See notes on Letters xx. and xxiii.; also xxi. 3.

*Ultus est ipse sese.*] He had carried his opposition to the optimates so far as to overreach himself. We do not know what Cicero alludes to particularly: probably that Cato was about to be impeached on some criminal charge, on which he was likely to be condemned.

4. *Appio.*] Appius Claudius Pulcher was now consul with L. Domitius Ahenobarbus. He was brother of Clodius. Had been praetor in 57 B.C., in which capacity he tacitly abetted Clodius against Cicero. His consulship was notorious for the corrupt bargain which he and his colleague made with Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Memmius. See Letter xxx. He governed Cilicia for two years, and we shall find the character of his rule described in more than one of Cicero's letters from his province. See particularly Letters xxxviii. and xl. After his return he was censor in B.C. 50. See Letter xliii. 4. He followed Pompey to Greece, and died in Euboea before Pharsalia. Cicero and he had now been reconciled by the intervention of Pompey.

*Vatinium.*] Notes on viii. 2; xxvii. 3. He explains his conduct in sect. 19. *Laudarim*, the word was specially used of witnesses who spoke to the character of defendants. See sect. 7 of Pompey and sect. 19 of Cicero's testimony to Vatinius.

*Actionum tuarum.*] He refers to the good services of Lentulus in procuring his recall and the restoration of his property.

5. *De reliqua nostra dignitate.*] The restoration of his houses. See Letter xviii. He speaks of them below as 'monumenta.'

*De vi nefaria.*] The assault of Clodius, described in Letter xix. He was discontented with the sum the senate gave him for the rebuilding of his house (xviii. 5), and attributed this, as he does here, to the secret envy of Pompey, Hortensius, and others.

7. *P. Sextium*] See xxi. 5. Vatinius was a witness against him.

*M. Bibuli.*] On Bibulus, see Introd. to Letters vii. and ix. 6.

*Qui me coegissent.*] E mea domo ire in exilium.

*Interrogatio.*] Cicero's speech against Vatinius was in the form of a series of questions, addressed to him as witness, in which he revived his previous career and exposed his whole life.

*De vi.*] Particularly his expulsion of Bibulus from the forum, and his attempt to imprison him.

*De auspiciis.*] Vatinius's laws during Caesar's consulship were carried in spite of the auspices. See introduction to Letter vii.

*De donatione regnorum.*] This accusation Cicero makes in his speech against Vatinius. 'Volo uti mihi respondeas. Fecerisne foedera tribunus plebis cum civitatibus, cum regibus, cum tetrarchis?' In *Vatin.* 12. We have no exact information as to the facts, though we may easily suppose that Caesar allowed Vatinius to assume unusual powers.

8. *Marcellino.*] B.C. 56.

*De agro Campano.*] Compare ix. 4. The law was passed in Caesar's consulship, B.C. 59, but was not carried into effect for some time after, and was still, in the year B.C. 56, the subject of discussion in the senate.

*Illius causae.*] The designs of Cicero and Pompey.

*Temporum meorum.*] The time of his exile. 'My conduct,' Cicero

says, 'was such as to show that I thought little of my own personal danger, and a great deal of the reputation gained by my former actions.'

9. *In Sardiniam.*] In discharge of the office which had been conferred on him of *curator annonae.* (See Letter xvii.) On his way he visited Caesar at Luca. (See introduction to Letter xxiv.)

*Quae de mea salute egisset.*] Refers to Pompey's exertion of his interest to procure Cicero's recall from exile.

10. *Vibullium.*] One of Pompey's agents in the Civil War. He was captured by Caesar in Spain, and despatched by him on his landing in Greece, with offers of peace to Pompey. *Bell. Civ.* iii. 10.

*Bonum virum.*] Cicero argues thus. He had shown himself in various ways to be a good citizen, and he might now be allowed to show himself a 'good man,' by keeping faith with Pompey, so far as not to attack Caesar's measures while Pompey was absent from Rome.

*Certorum hominum.*] Compare sect. 5. *Inimicum meum.* Clodius. He had then begun to oppose Caesar, and was therefore a great favourite with the *optimates.*

11. *Temporibus meis.*] Compare 'temporum meorum,' sect. 8.

*In praetura*]. In his praetorship, Cicero spoke the oration *Pro Lege Manilia.*' In his consulship, he exerted himself to decree Pompey a supplicatio for his success against Mithridates. Pompey returned these kindnesses by supporting Lentulus's motion for Cicero's recall. He did this by his influence (*auctoritas*), and by speaking in favour of the measure (*sententia*).

12. *Apud Platonem.*] Cicero is supposed to refer to the following passage:—'Μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς πειθέτω, ὦ φίλοι, ἄλλῃ θᾶττον καὶ ῥᾶον μεταβάλλειν ἄν πότε πόλιν, καὶ τοὺς νόμους, ἢ τῇ τῶν δυναστευόντων ἡγεμονίᾳ. *De Legg.* iv. p. 175. He gives a very free paraphrase, or rather a deduction from the words of Plato.

*Nonis Decembribus.*] Compare v. 6. He speaks of the period of his consulship, and from it to the consulship of Caesar and Bibulus, as a kind of golden age, during which the constitution was still intact, and the senate preserved its ancient influence. Compare viii. 2. Caesar set the senate aside, and carried his measures in the popular assembly by the aid of Vatinius.

13 *Hispaniam.*] Lentulus was praetor of Hispania Citerior in the year of Caesar's consulship, and the following year, when Piso and Gabinius were consuls.

It is these latter that he calls '*mercatores provinciarum,*' because they sold him to Clodius, on condition that he would get them the provinces that they desired. (See his speech *De Provinciis Consularibus,* c. 4.) Thus they made themselves the slaves of faction.

*Quo in discrimine.*] See Introduction to Letter xii.

*Qui non defenderunt.*] Such as Caesar and Crassus.

*Qui reliquerunt.*] Such as Pompey, who was pledged to protect him against Clodius (x. 5).

*Se timere simularunt.*] Alluding probably to Hortensius, and perhaps to Atticus. (Compare xiii. 8, and Introduction.)

*Servis armatis.*] The rabble whom Clodius had got together under the pretence of reviving the old guilds or *collegia* of the city. See note on xiv. 4.

14. *Caesar.*] For the honours paid to Caesar, see Letter xxiii. 10.

15. *Ille fur muliebrium religionum.*] Clodius. See Letters iii. iv. Cicero alludes here to Clodius's attack on the workmen and on himself, and to the subsequent occurrences described in Letter xix. Clodius got off with impunity, by being elected aedile before he could be brought to trial. By *tribunus plebis* is meant Milo.

*Monumentum.*] There were three buildings which might be described by this name. 1. The *Atrium Libertatis*, at the foot of the Palatine, built by Cicero, by the orders of the senate, to commemorate the extinction of the Catiline conspiracy. Clodius had erased the original inscription on this building, and inscribed on it the words of his decree forbidding the recall of Cicero. 2. The portico of Catulus, which Clodius had converted into a new portico, inscribed with his own name. (*Pro Domo*, c. 53.) But this was demolished by the senate, and the *Porticus Catuli* restored. (Letter xviii.) 3. The *Templum Libertatis* which Clodius had built on part of Cicero's property. (xvii. 7.) Here, too, Clodius's name was inscribed. It is the first of these to which Cicero alludes.

*Manubiae.*] He here alludes to the Porticus Catuli: he says the spoils in this case were not his own, as it had been in Catulus's case, but that he had merely carried out the work for the senate.

*Hostili nomine.*] Sc. Clodii.

*Qui me homines.*] He often speaks of the work of his restoration as incomplete. See note on xviii. 5. From this passage, it is clear that as yet the part of his house which had been dedicated to Libertas had not been restored to him.

16. *Q. Metello.*] *Numidicus*, banished by Saturninus, for refusing to consent to his rogation concerning the transalpine provinces. See Merivale chap. ii. p. 65. He bore his exile and restoration with equal calmness. Cicero ironically dismisses the tale that his spirit was broken by his exile.

*M. Scaurum.*] M. Aemilius Scaurus, consul B.C. 115. Afterwards ambassador to Jugurtha, whose bribes he was accused of receiving. Cicero describes him as a staunch supporter of the constitution. (*Pro Sextio*, cap. 47.)

*Promulgantibus omnibus*] Omnibus tribunis. Schütz read *Octo tribunis*; Cicero probably is speaking rhetorically. See Letter xv.

*Consule.*] Lentulus himself.

17. *Hic meae vitae cursus.*] His devoting himself to the labours of an advocate.

*Interruptus.*] Particularly in Caesar's consulship.

*Afflictus.*] In the year of Clodius's tribunate.

*Sententia.*] Speeches in the senate. *Tabella* votes at the trials, with particular reference to Clodius's case.

18. *Plato.*] The words are from the *Crito*: *βιάζεσθαι δὲ οὐχ ὅσιον οὔτε μητέρα οὔτε πατέρα, πόλυ δὲ τούτων ἔτι ἧττον τὴν πατρίδα.* (c. 12.)

*Quum offendisset.*] Cicero here alludes to a passage in one of Plato's letters, Epist. v.: *Πλάτων ὀψὲ ἐν τῇ πατριδι γέγονε, καὶ τὸν δῆμον κατέλαβεν ἤδη πρεσβύτερον κ. τ. λ. ἐπεὶ πάντων ἂν ἥδιστα καθάπερ πατρὶ συνεβούλευεν αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ μάχην μὲν κινδυνεύσειν ᾤετο, πλέον δ' οὐδὲν ποιήσειν.*

19. *De Appio.*] See note on sect. 4. Pompey's son, Cn. Pompeius, had married the daughter of Appius, and it was by Pompey's influence that Cicero was reconciled to him.

*De Vatinio.*] See xxvii. 3 and viii. 2.

*Laudarim.*] Note on sect. 4.

*Ex ultimis terris.*] Hispania and Cilicia. From this it appears that testimonials to character were often sent in letters to be produced on trials. The practice of calling these '*laudatores*' in favour of accused persons, which was open to much abuse, was done away by Pompey in his sole consulship of A.U.C. 702.

*Dixi me facere.*] Cicero explains that if others had *their* Publius (Clodius), he thought he might be allowed to have his Publius (Vatinius), and so play the one off against the other, like Phaedria and Pamphila in the play. See Terence, *Eunuchus*, iii. 1, 50.

*Severe seducerent.*] As if they wanted to consult him on some important affair.

20. Cicero had forgiven Crassus his part in the proceedings concerning Catiline, and his encouragement of the designs of Clodius against himself; but a fresh breach had taken place in consequence of Crassus's defence of Gabinius against Cicero. This, however, was again healed in deference to the wishes of Caesar and Pompey.

*Gabinii.*] Gabinius was severely attacked in the senate for his part in the restoration of Ptolemy. (See Introduction to Letter xx.) Crassus defended him, and at the same time violently attacked Cicero, with whom he was doubtless at this time annoyed in consequence of Cicero's increased friendship with Caesar. Cicero does not refer here to the trial of Gabinius, which took place in the following month (October). See Abeken, pp. 195, 196, for a good account of the trial. At present Cicero was Gabinius's opponent; nor would he defend him at his first trial, though in his last trial he was persuaded to undertake his defence.

*Foris.*] With the people. The debate had been conducted in the senate.

*Eos qui in eadem caussa essent.*] Caesar and Pompey.

*Naturae.*] It was in accordance not only with Cicero's interests but with his inclination to be on good terms with Caesar.

*In provinciam est profectus.*] Crassus started two months before the year of his consulship expired, in defiance of the prognostics of Ateius (see Middleton, vol. i. p. 417), and the '*Cave ne eas*' at Brundisium. (Cicero, *De Divin.* ii. 40, tells the story.) Early in the present year he was attacked in the senate for this disregard of the auspices, but was vigorously defended by Cicero, with the hearty approval of Caesar.

*Crassipedis.*] See xxiii. 11.

21. *Ut in navigando.*] Cicero is fond of this defence of political inconstancy. Compare *Pro C. Plancio*, c. 39: 'An, quum videam navem secundis ventis cursum tenentem suum, si non eum petat portum quem ego aliquando probavi, sed alium non minus tutum atque tranquillum, cum tempestate pugnem periculose potius quam illi, salute praesertim proposita, obtemperem et paream? Neque enim inconstantis puto sententiam, tamquam aliquod navigium atque cursum, ex reipublicae tempestate moderari.'

*Beneficiis.*] Caesar and Pompey had courted Cicero as much as the optimates had thwarted him. Compare sect. 20 and 10.

*Praesidiis.*] He means the good will of the people and senate. See Letter xi. 16.

22. *Vidi quosdam.*] Compare xxiii. 2.

23. *Orationes.*] Such as the speeches *Pro Bestia*; *In Vatinium*; *De Provinciis Consularibus*; *De Haruspicum responsis*; *In Pisonem*; and others delivered during the last three years from B.C. 56 to B.C. 54.

*Aristoteleo more.*] Aristotle seems to have written some treatises in the form of dialogues, with prefaces like Cicero's. Cicero's *Dialogues* are not Platonic, the dialogue being a mere framework for the argument, and not the essential part as with Plato. Compare vi. 1, where he speaks in a similar manner of Aristotle and Isocrates.

*De temporibus meis.*] This is the poem of which he speaks in xxvii. 5, as having been sent to Caesar.

24. *Quinti fratris.*] Quintus appears to have been desirous of purchasing a farm, adjacent to his own property, from some one who was at this time in Cilicia, and had begged Lentulus to manage the matter for him.

*Lentuli tui nostrique.*] A common term of affection with Cicero. Compare xiii. 3.

25. *Legem curiatam.*] A *lex curiata* was required to give *imperium* in a province. The law would be proposed by one of the consuls, in this case by Appius himself; and this was commonly the case when a province was given to some one who had been consul some time before, as in the case of Cicero. Without the imperium the praetor of a province could not engage in war. If a *lex curiata* could be carried, then Appius and Domitius would settle their provinces by lot. If a *lex curiata* could not be obtained, then Appius intended to arrange with his colleague the provinces they were to take (*comparare, parare, cum collega*), and to take Cilicia for himself. A province had already been assigned him under the terms of the *lex Sempronia* of C. Gracchus (xxiii. 10), by a *senatus consultum*; and the *lex Cornelia* of Sulla would give him the *imperium*, and allow him to retain it till he entered the city on his return from his province. Under this law it was that Cicero retained his imperium for some time after he had returned from Italy in hopes of obtaining a triumph. By this latter course Appius would avoid the danger of an *intercessio* by one of the tribunes, which might stop a *lex curiata*. The only drawback in this course would be, that Appius, having only *imperium sine armis*, would not be able to claim a triumph. There seems to have been a doubt whether Appius's course would be legal. and whether Lentulus might not dispute his right to succeed him; but Cicero advises him not to raise the question. As it turned out Appius did get a *lex curiata* (see Letter xxx.), and had a supplicatio granted him, after which he would probably have had a triumph, but that he was indicted by Dolabella.

*De jure.*] Appius's course was so unusual (for most Roman governors set great store on the chance of a triumph), that some people thought it illegal; but Appius was right in thinking the military imperium not essential, though it might be desirable.

26. *De publicanis.*] Lentulus defended the provincials against the publicani. Appius, on the contrary, abetted the latter in great outrages, as we shall see in Cicero's letters from the same province, particularly on the affair of Scaptius, the agent of Brutus. (Letter xl.) In the famous letter to his brother Quintus (*Ad Q. F.* i. 1), Cicero dwells at length

upon the *publicani*, and the difficulty which Roman governors had to contend with in consequence of their exactions.

*Q. Scaevolae.*] Consul B.C. 117. Proconsul of Asia, in which capacity he was distinguished for his justice and moderation. He was the son-in-law of C. Laelius, and is introduced as one of the speakers in the *De Oratore*, the *Laelius*, and the *De Republica.*

## Letter XXIX.

This letter is chiefly concerned with an account of his book *De Republica.* He excuses himself from writing a poem suggested to him by Quintus, on Caesar's British campaign, on the ground of occupation, and the dejection caused by the state of his country. Slightly touching on the affair of Gabinius, he concludes with some reference to Quintus's private affairs.

*De illis libris.*] The treatise on the Republic. It was originally written in two books: then divided into nine; as Cicero tells us here. Afterwards it was reduced to six books. The epoch at which the scene of the dialogue was laid, was B.C. 129. ('Tuditano et Aquillio coss.') The speakers are the younger Africanus, Laelius, &c. See the *Dictionary of Biography*, art. 'Cicero,' for a general account of the work, beyond the details given us in this letter.

*Novendialibus.*] A nine days festival, celebrated on the occasion of a portentous shower of stones, or other prodigy. See *Dict. of Antiqq.* art. 'Feriae.'

*Africani.*] See note on xxi. 3.

*Fannii et Scaevolae.*] Introduced again in *De Amicitia.*

*Sallustio.*] Cicero did not follow Sallust's advice ultimately, probably from a desire to steer clear of contemporary politics. See sect. 2.

*Heraclides Ponticus.*] 'Not a mere cloistered philosopher.' Heraclides wrote a Πολιτεία. He was more distinguished as a fop (hence called Πομπικός) than as a philosopher. He lived in the time of Plato.

*Oratorium sermonem.*] He alludes to his *De Oratore*, written in the previous year. B.C. 55.

2. *Non sine . . stomacho.*] 'Because I found it troublesome to recast what I had already written.'

4. Ὑποθέσεις.] 'How can I,' he says, 'supply topics for such a poem as you want me to write, when I can hardly follow your campaign even in idea, while you have all the scene fresh before you?' See xxvii. 4.

*Animi alacritate.*] In a previous letter to Quintus he says, 'Abest ἐνθουσιασμός.' All poetic fervour was banished by his public cares.

Αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν]. Hom. *Iliad.* viii. 208.

5. *Gabinium.*] Note on xxviii. 20. Cicero here refers to his first trial. This letter was written in November. Cicero does not in any subsequent letter allude to the fact that he defended him on his second trial, when he was condemned and banished.

*Pansa.*] C. Vibius Pansa, consul with Hirtius, the year after Caesar's death. See Letters ci. cii. Schütz supposes Pansa to have been in Caesar's army, and to have said this to Quintus.

*Toti ordines.*] Every class of men. Not merely the three 'ordines' of the judices. (iv. 3.)

6. *Tyrannio.*] A manumitted slave of Terentia's, now a *libertus literatus*, as was also *Chrysippus*. These books, from the context, were Greek.

*Renuntiant.*] 'Repudiate their debts.' The opposite term would be pronunciant.' (See xxvi. 4.) Perhaps we ought to read 'renuntiat;' referring to Crebrius alone.

*Ab aerario.*] What is alluded to is unknown.

7. χρέος.] 'Pecuniam mutuo sumptam.' Cicero seems to mean, 'How can you want to borrow money, when you are capable of doing so much, if you will only exert yourself?'

## Letter XXX.

An infamous bargain had been made between the two consuls, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and Appius Claudius Pulcher, and two of the candidates for the consulship, Memmius and Domitius Calvinus. (See xxvi. 4.) The consuls were to assist Memmius and Calvinus in procuring their election, while they were to procure for the outgoing consuls whatever provinces they desired. Memmius and Calvinus were to provide three augurs to testify that they were present at the passing of a *lex curiata*, which was never passed, and two consulars to swear to the passing of a similar *senatus consultum*, granting these provinces to the consuls. Pompey persuaded Memmius to disclose the whole transaction to the senate. Appius, having no character to lose, was little affected by the disgrace of this disclosure, but Domitius was overwhelmed by it. An enquiry in the senate was threatened, but ultimately evaded. All the four candidates for the consulship were impeached for bribery, but they escaped conviction in consequence of the interregnum, which was promoted by Pompey's friends as a mode of making him dictator. The interregnum lasted more than six months, after which Calvinus was elected consul with M. Valerius Messala. This letter was written towards the end of November.

1. This section is supposed by Schütz and others to belong to another letter, because Atticus was in Italy by this time.

2. *Lepidum.*] 'It is amusing to watch how matters will end.' This abrupt transition favours the idea that there has been a break here.

*Uti ambo.*] The bargain is described in the form of a judicial *sponsio poenalis*. If the contracting party failed to perform his part of the bargain he forfeited his deposit. (See Ramsay, p. 283.) In this case Memmius and Calvinus promised to pay 800,000 sesterces, if the augurs and consulars could not be produced. See the Introduction.

*Quae lata non esset.*] Ernesti proposes '*erat*,' because these are not the words of the *pactio*, but Cicero's comment. But they are very naturally attracted into the *oratio obliqua*.

*Scribendo adfuisse.*] Note on v. 9.

*Non verbis.*] Memmius produced the actual document, although the names had been erased (*inductis*).

*Nominibus.*] Written obligations to pay money, inscribed in the accounts (*tabulis*) of those from whom they had got the money.

*Perscriptionibus.*] Memmius and Calvinus had executed deeds of assignment, by which they made over the money borrowed to the consuls.

*Multorum tabulis.*] This seems to mean that the particulars of the transaction were entered in the books of other persons, who might be used as witnesses for the consuls.

3. *Dictaturam.*] Memmius hoped that the troubles of the state would end in Pompey's being made dictator.

*Seleucianae provinciae.*] Syria, or Cilicia. Cicero here seems to allude to Atticus's wish that he should take a province. Atticus does not seem to have approved of Cicero's intimacy with Caesar. (See *Ad Att.* iv. 16.) Hence the following exaggerated language.

*Hiberna legionum.*] Cicero's winter camp was in the territory of the Nervii, near *Charleroy*. Introduction to Letter xxvi. Of the Nervii, Cicero says in a letter to his brother, 'Ubi enim isti sunt Nervii, et quam longe absint, nescio.'

*Me esse legatum Pompeio.*] Note on xxv. 1.

*Dionysio.*] A freedman of Atticus, as great a friend of his as Tiro was of Cicero. He was tutor to the two young Cicerones.

---

## Fifth Division of Letters.

## WRITTEN DURING CICERO'S PROCONSULATE.

## Letters XXXI.-XLII.

The letters of this division are mainly concerned with the affairs of Cicero's province. Stopping at Athens on his way, he interests himself in the preservation of the house of Epicurus (xxxii.). He explains the measures which he had taken for the defence of his province against the Parthians (xxxv.). He narrates his victory over the Pindenissians, and demands a supplicatio (xxxvii., xxxviii.), which Cato opposes (xxxix. xlii.) He gives an account of the usurious dealings of Brutus with the people of Salamis (xl.), and writes to Appius to explain his administration (xli.). The most remarkable letter of this series is that in which Caelius recounts to Cicero the proceedings of the senate concerning Caesar's province (xxxvi.)

We shall observe in the letters of this period, a return to Cicero's old feelings towards Pompey, who had drawn much nearer to the senatorial party during his consulship; and he endeavoured by every means to relieve himself from his obligations to Caesar, who had lent him a sum of 820,000 sesterces. Quintus, too, was no longer with Caesar, but accompanied his brother as legatus to Cilicia. The two young Cicerones accompanied their parents, and were placed under the charge of Deiotarus.

Between Letter xxx. and the date of Letter xxxi. intervened an interval of two years and a half, during which we have no letters of great importance. The events of these years may be briefly summed up as follows.

The consulship of Calvinus and Messala had scarcely commenced

when news reached Rome of the defeat and death of Crassus and his son Publius, who had fought with distinction under Caesar in Gaul, and had in the hour of disaster met his fate with the bravery of a Roman soldier. This event, following soon after the death of Julia, tended still further to widen the breach between Pompey and Caesar. The anarchy of Rome was increasing, and was brought to a head by the murder of Clodius by the armed attendants of Milo, now supported by Cicero as a candidate for the consulship, at a wayside inn near Bovillae. On the arrival of the corpse of the demagogue the rabble of Rome committed unusual outrages. The senatorial party despaired of the laws; and even Cato joined in recommending the grant of unusual powers to Pompey. He wisely declined the title of dictator, offered him by the Clodian mob; but, on the recommendation of Bibulus, consented to a compromise, and, in the beginning of A.U.C. 702, within a month of Clodius's death, entered on the office of sole consul. He was now virtually tyrant, ruler of Spain and Africa, and at the head of a large army. He commenced his career with laws against bribery and violence. Milo, supported by Cato (see xxxviii. 12), and but faintly defended by Cicero, who was alarmed by the presence of Pompey's soldiers and the clamours of the Clodian mob, was condemned and retired to Massilia. After six months, Pompey associated with himself in his consulship Metellus Scipio, whose daughter he had recently married, having previously taken care to exclude Cato from the consulship by securing the election of Serv. Sulpicius Rufus and M. Claudius Marcellus.

This year witnessed the most critical campaign of Caesar, the struggle of Vercingetorix, which was watched by Caesar's enemies with a sinister hope that he would meet the fate of Crassus.

## Letter XXXI.

Pompey, during his sole consulship, had passed a law that no one should enter on a province within five years after holding a curule office. Cicero and Bibulus were among the few prominent men who were eligible. Cicero accepted the province of Cilicia, Bibulus that of Syria. With the province he also received the *imperium*, or military command; and had a force of 12,000 foot and 2,600 horse. This province included Cilicia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Lycaonia, 'τρεῖς διοικήσεις Asiaticas,' (*Div.* xiii. 67), and the island of Cyprus. These had all been subject to his predecessors Appius and Lentulus, and had been connected with Cilicia since the victories of Pompey.

Although Cicero had been unwilling to absent himself from Rome, and therefore had declined Pompey's *legatio*, as well as Caesar's, yet he looked forward to an opportunity of distinction in a province, and hoped to return to Rome with repaired influence after a short absence. At the same time, he was above all things anxious that his absence should not be prolonged. He also charged Caelius to keep him well-informed of public affairs.

Cicero began his journey in May, and went by Cumae and Tarentum to Brundisium. On the 15th of June he landed at Actium, and thence proceeded by land to Athens.

1. *Areus.*] Areus and Eutychides, freedmen of Atticus, supplied

Cicero with provisions for a truly 'royal' banquet. For '*Saliarem*,' compare—

'Destinat hoc monstrum cymbae linique magister
Pontifici summo.' Juv. *Sat.* iv. 46.

'Et mero
Tingent pavimentum superbo
Pontificum potiore coenis.'
Hor. *Carm.* II. xiv. 26.

*Sine his impedimentis.*] His lictors and train.

*Extraordinarium.*] His province had been allotted to him not immediately after his consulship, but after an interval of eleven years.

*Parthus.*] Since the defeat of Crassus, the whole province of Syria had been overrun by the Parthians. They were in this year repulsed by Cassius, from the walls of Antioch, into which he had thrown himself with the remnant of Crassus's army. Bibulus on reaching his province, ventured no aggressive measures, but shut himself up in his fortresses. Pacorus lay encamped for the winter in Cyrrhestica: and it was expected that the year 704 would witness a serious attack on Syria. Various reports reached Cicero from his arrival in Asia to the end of October, when he heard of Cassius's victory, and the respite of the province. The danger was finally averted by the civil war which broke out between Pacorus and his father King Orodes. See an excellent account of the Parthian war in Mommsen's *History of Rome*, book v. ch. ix. (Eng. translation, vol. iv. p. 328—339.)

2. *XX. et DCCC.*] His debt to Caesar. 820,000 sesterces.

*Ne intercaletur.*] That his year should not be lengthened by the addition of any intercalary days. See Introduction. Another mode by which the period of Cicero's office might be lengthened was by *prorogatio*, or addition of another year.

3. *Dionysium.*] See xxx. 3.

## Letter XXXII.

Memmius (note on xxvi. 4. and xxx. Introduction) having been condemned of bribery in A.U.C. 700, had gone to Athens, where Cicero expected to find him. Here Memmius had obtained from the Areopagus the grant of a piece of land, on which the ruins of Epicurus's house were still standing. Cicero begs him to restore this property to the disciples of the philosopher, who looked on its alienation and probable destruction much as the people of Stratford would regard the loss of Shakespeare's house. Cicero had expected to find Memmius at Athens, but he had started the day before for Mitylene.

1. *Injuria.*] In another letter Cicero speaks very differently of the trial of the four candidates. 'Magna res in motu est; propterea quod aut hominum aut legum interitus ostenditur.' (*Ad Q. Fr.* iii. 2.)

2. *Patrone.*] Compare xi. 14. Cicero himself leant to the Academy. What had been the precise services rendered to him by Cicero we do not know. It is clear from what follows (in sect. 4) that Cicero had no very high opinion of him.

*Phaedro.*] Another Epicurean, whom in his younger days Cicero had

greatly admired, before he became an Academic. He had been leader of the school before Patro; and to him Cicero is indebted for his account of the Epicurean philosophy in the *De Nat. Deorum.*

*Philonem.*] Head of the Academy in Cicero's time. The Academy had passed through several stages, known by the names of 'Old,' 'Middle,' 'New,' 'Fourth' (to which Philo belonged), and 'Fifth.' This school was the most direct descendant of Plato and Socrates.

3. *Aedificationis.*] Memmius had intended to build himself a house on this site, destroying the remains of Epicurus's dwelling.

4. *Gentem illam.*] Sc. Graecorum.

*Honorem.*] Patro felt his honour as head of the school to be at stake in the matter.

*Testamentorum jus.*] Epicurus had bequeathed all his property to his friend Metrodorus, on condition that his garden and the buildings in it should be given over for the use of his followers.

*Phaedri obtestationem.*] This injunction he had laid on his follower Patro on his death-bed, that he would not alienate this property of Epicurus.

5. *Non quo sit ex istis.*] 'Not that you are to consider him to be one of that school.' In a letter to Atticus on this very subject, Cicero says, 'De Patrone et tuis condiscipulis quae de parietinis in militia laboravi ea tibi grata esse gaudeo.' (*Ad Att.* v. 19.) But he means here, 'You are not to look on Atticus as a common Epicurean, for he is far more cultivated than they are.'

*Ambitiosus.*] 'Atticus does not ask me to do this, because he wants to be thought influential with me.' Compare lxxvii. 2: 'Valent enim apud Caesarem non tam ambitiosae rogationes quam necessariae.'

## Letter XXXIII.

1. *Zostera.*] A small town on the coast of Attica.

*Omina.*] A good emendation for 'omnia,' the common reading. Cicero means that they watched the mountain-tops for signs of fair weather. Schütz says, 'signa secundae tempestatis *ex vexillis* in *fastigiis domorum et navium.*' But this would be a singular use of ἀκρωτήρια; and the sense I have given suits the use of the word in Herodotus vii. 217, and Thucydides i. 30.

2. *Messalla.*] See note on xxvi. 4. He was nephew of Hortensius.

*συνηγωνίων.*] 'Sympathised with him.' A verb found in Polybius and Plutarch.

*Meos libros.*] The treatise *De Republica.* (Letter xxix.) *Thallumetus*, a freedman of Atticus.

*Helenius.*] Who this was is unknown. Cicero does not speak in very high terms of him.

*Habebimus consules.*] 'They will by that time be *designati.*'

*Judiciis.*] Of Messalla, for instance.

3. *De strue laterum.*] Cicero was thinking of building a brick aqueduct on his Tusculan estate, and wished to make use of a stream (*aqua*) called *Crabra*, for the use of which he paid a certain rent to the municipality. (Schütz's note on *Ad Div.* xvi. 18.)

*Philippus.*] This person is unknown. Some suppose him to have been the civil engineer employed by Cicero. Others suggest Philotimus, Terentia's libertus.

## Letter XXXIV.

1. *Pugnam Bovillanam.*] The fray between Clodius and Milo, in which Clodius was killed. (Merivale, p. 340.) He also calls it the battle of Leuctra, xl. 26.

*Ac si venissem cum imperio.*] 'As if Ephesus had been in my province;' in which case the *decumani* would have been naturally respectful to him, as well as the Greeks.

*Ostentationes.*] The professions which he had made for many years, that if he had a province he would rule it so as to observe justice to the provincials, and yet strive not to offend the publicani.

*Confectae sunt pactiones.*] The agreements between the farmers of the taxes and the government. These were settled for the current year; Cicero settled them himself for the next year. (See Letter xl.)

*Caestius.*] A Roman knight who conveyed this letter.

2. *Thermo.*] Q. Minutius Thermus, mentioned as a candidate for the consulship in Letter i. 2, now propraetor of Asia. Cicero introduces to him two members of Atticus's household.

*Xeno.*] Of Apollonis; distinct from Xeno, the Epicurean friend of Cicero.

3. *Ne intercaletur.*] Note on xxxi. 2.

*De illo domestico.*] The question of his daughter's marriage. Tullia was now divorced from Crassipes. The *scrupulus* was, that Cicero wanted her to marry Servius, son of Servius Sulpicius Rufus the consul, but she preferred Dolabella, whom she afterwards married. *Scrupulum* is governed by *exhauri*, or a similar word, to be supplied.

*De Caesare.*] Note on xxxi. 2.

*De aqua.*] Note on xxxiii. 3.

## Letter XXXV.

In this letter Cicero explains the measures which he had taken for putting his province in a state of defence against the expected inroad of the Parthians into Syria. If he had taken the shortest route from Iconium to Cilicia he would have left the province exposed on the side of Cappadocia. He therefore marched into Cappadocia and encamped at Cybistra, at the foot of Mount Taurus, sending his cavalry into Cilicia. While in his camp at Cybistra, he took the opportunity of strengthening Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, who had been taken under the protection of the Roman people by a decree of the senate, reconciling to him some of his discontented subjects, and persuading Archelaus, an important leader of the disaffected party, to leave Cappadocia. By these measures he obliged both Cato, who had assumed the protection of Cappadocia, and Pompey, who was an important creditor of the king's. The danger from Parthia soon passed over (note on xxxi. 1), and Cicero employed his army against the predatory hordes who occupied Mount Amanus and the region of Pindenissus. See Letter xxxvii.

1. *S. V. &c.*] 'Si vos valetis, bene est, ego quoque valeo.' The usual formula which proconsuls and generals used in their letters to the senate and magistrates at Rome.

*In provinciam.*] Viz. at Laodicea. From this day his government commenced.

*Parthos.. iter eos.*] Matthiae compares 'Signa, *tabulas*, quas populo Caesar una cum hortis legavit, *eas* hic partim in hortos Pompeii deportavit.' *Phil.* ii. 42.

2. *Artuasdes.*] His sister had lately married Pacorus, the Parthian prince; and his daughter was betrothed to the son of Deiotarus, king of Galatia.

*Deiotarum.*] Had been tetrarch of Galatia, but after the end of the Mithidatric wars, was honoured by the senate with the title of king. He offered his forces to aid Cicero when the Parthians were expected. Accompanied Pompey to Greece in the Civil War, and escaped with him after Pharsalia. In consequence of this, he was deprived by Caesar: and afterwards tried on the charge of having attempted Caesar's life, on which occasion he was defended by Cicero, B.C. 45, in a speech still extant, *Pro rege Deiotaro.* He recovered his dominions after Caesar's death, and took the side of Brutus and Cassius against Antony.

4. Cicero now proceeds to give a detailed account of his dealings with the king of Cappadocia.

*Auctoritas.*] The word seems to be used here generally in the sense of *senatus consultum.* (sect. 7.) For its special use see note on xxiii. 4.

*Ariobarzanem.*] He used the title φιλορωμαιός, which had been originally adopted by his grandfather, the first king of the name, and added to it εὐσέβης. Both titles appear on his coins. We find from Letter xl. that he owed Pompey and Brutus large sums of money, and was very poor. ('Mancipiis locuples eget aeris Cappadocum rex,' Horace says of one of his successors, Archelaus. *Epist.* I. vi. 39.) He helped Pompey in the Civil War, but was pardoned by Caesar. Cassius put him to death, B. C. 42.

*A nostro ordine.*] Senatu.

5. *In consilio meo.*] In the proconsul's court, composed of the legates, tribunes, and his staff.

*Interitus paterni.*] His father Ariobarzanes, φιλοπάτωρ, appears from this passage, our only authority on the subject, to have been assassinated some time shortly before this date.

*Ariarathe.*] He succeeded his brother as king.

*Insidiarum.*] These were chiefly promoted by Archelaus, the priest of the Temple of Bellona at Comana. See Introduction, and compare Letter xxxviii. 6, where we have a summary account of these proceedings.

7. *Senatus consulto.*] Compare sect. 4.

## Letter XXXVI.

This letter contains the account of the first steps taken by the aristocratical party against Caesar.

The jurisdiction of Caesar in his provinces had still two years to run, when L. Aemilius Paullus and C. Claudius Marcellus were elected consuls, A.U.C. 703. The then consul, M. Claudius Marcellus, proposed that

a successor should be immediately appointed; Pompey, with affected moderation, absenting himself from the debates on the subject, and professing himself ready to bow to the decision of the senate. On the last day of September M. Marcellus proposed that on the first of March following, the consuls then in office should assign the provinces, a measure which was in reality aimed against Caesar; a second decree being aimed at any tribune who should impede the proceedings. A decree was also proposed for the benefit of Caesar's veterans, in the hope that they would thus be tempted from their allegiance. These proposals were confirmed by the majority of the senate, and Pompey declared himself as ready to co-operate with them in carrying out the measures, and derided, with a coarse joke, the threatened opposition of Caesar (sect. 9). In spite of his bold words, many persons thought that he had a secret understanding with Caesar. We are told that Caesar's reply to this attack was an offer to resign all his provinces except the Cisalpine, and when this was refused, he declared that his sword should keep what he had won.

Caesar was supposed at this time to be in a very dangerous position. It was reported that he had lost his cavalry, and was himself cut off from his troops (*Ad Div.* viii. 1), and these reports no doubt emboldened his enemies to attack him.

The whole of these proceedings are well given in Merivale, chapter xi. and Mommsen, vol. iv. pp. 350, &c. The further course of events will be noticed in the Introduction to Letter xliii.

M. Caelius Rufus is noticed by Cicero (*Brutus*, c. 79), as a very eloquent speaker. He had been tribune in the preceding year, 52; was aedile next year; was on Caesar's side in the Civil War, and became praetor in 48. He was killed in the same year, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, in a tumult which he raised in the city with the aid of Milo, whom he had recalled from Massilia. Cicero had requested him to furnish him with news of the public events of the day during his absence. See xl. 21.

1. *Rufum.*] He is ironically called a 'great pet' of Cicero's. He had been accused by M. Tuccius of *calumnia*, i.e., of maliciously bringing a false accusation, in fact, of perjury, for every accuser was called on to take an oath that he truly believed in the guilt of the defendant (*calumniam jurare*). Of this he had now been convicted (*calumniam tulerat*). In order to screen himself, or, at all events to stave off his trial to the next year, he had brought a counter-action against his accuser, under the *Lex Plotia de Vi*, which had a special clause providing that in trials under its provisions, such cases might be tried even 'diebus festis ludisque publicis omnibus.' This as being a *judicium extraordinarium* would take precedence of all others, the ordinary cases being taken in order of time.

There were two classes of *judicia extraordinaria*. 1. Those which were in some way connected with a previous trial, so as to be considered, in a sense, as appendices to them. 2. Cases of 'Vis,' such as this which Sempronius brought against M. Tuccius, or as the case of Milo, which took precedence of all other trials of his year.

*Sine ullo subscriptore.*] The action of Rufus was so evidently vexatious that he could find no one to support him by signing his name to the process of accusation.

*Perago.*] Vexo, exagito. Caelius brought up against Sempronius the old affair of Vestorius. There had been a dispute between the two, probably concerning some money, in which they had chosen Cicero as an arbiter; but Sempronius had declined an interview with Cicero, fearing that he might make an unwelcome settlement. He seems to have boasted that he voluntarily surrendered to Vestorius what Vestorius had possession of to his own detriment (*si quid . . teneret*) in order to do Cicero a favour by saving him the trouble of arbitration, an excuse which every one took at its proper value. By taking up this old tale Caelius laughed Rufus out of court.

2. *M. Servilius.*] This Servilius, of whom nothing more is recorded than that he was prosecuted on a charge of *repetundae*, was mixed up with a former trial of C. Claudius. Claudius had been *propraetor* in Asia in B.C. 55; and on his return was accused of extortion. Servilius was entrusted with a sum of H.S. lxxxi. to bribe the prosecutor, and thus to procure a *praevaricatio*, but had not paid the money to the accuser, and Claudius was condemned. He died soon after; but the money which had been placed in Servilius's hands had not been repaid to the family of Claudius. The property left by Claudius was insufficient to meet the compensation adjudged under the *litis aestimatio* to be paid to the provincials, and an action was brought against Servilius, now a bankrupt (*turbarat*), who had sold everything, who was known to have received the H.S. lxxxi from Claudius, to oblige him to refund it for the benefits of the plaintiff in Claudius's suit. For this was a maxim of Roman law, that if a defendant had made away with his property, actions of recovery might be brought against those to whom he had paid it, until the public claim was satisfied. (Cicero, *Pro Rabirio*, iv. 8.) This kind of suit went by the name of '*Quo ea pecunia pervenerit.*' Such a claim was now brought against Servilius by Pausanias, the agent of the Asiatics: but the praetor refused to entertain the action (*recipere*, or *nomen recipere*) probably because there was not sufficient proof.

*Turbarat.*] A commoner term was 'conturbare rationes,' (see *Dict.*) for which Cicero sometimes used a Greek phrase, as in *Att.* vi. 4, 5, *πεφυρακέναι τὰς ψήφους.*

*Maxima . . invidia.*] Servilius's case had caused great scandal, and was not a very pleasant one, therefore, for Caelius to undertake.

*Nobis patronis.*] Caelius seems to mean that he managed his defence of Servilius so as to thwart the action of Pausanias.

*Quod Pilius.*] How Servilius could have been accused of *repetundae* is not clear; for he had held no public office, nor received money from the public chest. But was he sued as the representative of Claudius?

*Appius minor.*] Son of the C. Claudius mentioned above. He had possibly been adopted by Appius Claudius (Cicero's predecessor), and taken his *praenomen*. He now comes forward to accuse Servilius of *prevaricatio*. Although he could do so only by revealing the disgrace of his father, an impious action in a son.

3. *Mittit in consilium.*] 'He called on the very judices who had voted in his father's case to vote on that of Servilius.' An act of madness (*amentia*) on his part. For the judices who had condemned his father were sure in consistency, now that they sat on the bench, to acquit Servilius, seeing that the case turned really on the same point. And the

result proved this; for they voted for his acquittal, though an equal number voted against it.

*Aequo numero.*] The votes were equally divided; and, in accordance with the usual practice, the praetor should at once have registered a verdict of acquittal; but he at first inclined to the course of declaring the verdict of acquittal, according to the votes of the three orders of judices (xxvi. 3, iv. 3), of which, two had acquitted Servilius; for it appears from this passage that sometimes the votes of *judices* were taken individually, sometimes by their *ordines*. His ignorance of law consisted in his not knowing an equal division of all the individual votes amounted to an acquittal. After leaving his seat (Servilius being now looked on as acquitted), and referring to a clause in the law which ordered that sentence should go by majority of individual *judices* (not of *ordines*) he seems to have wavered; but when pressed by Appius for a decision, he consulted L. Lollius, and, finally, decided on an acquittal, '*se relaturum* (*absolutum*).' The effect was that people hardly knew whether Servilius had been condemned or acquitted: and he had to take his trial for *repetundae* with this disadvantage (*saucius*) against him.

*Divinatione.*] Appius offered himself as a prosecutor, and took the oath usual with prosecutors (*calumniam*, sect. 1); but did not venture to persist; and Pilius got the prosecution into his own hands. (On *Divinatio*, or choice of a prosecutor, see *Dict. of Antiquities*, or Ramsay's *Roman Antiquities*.) *Nam* accounts for *Pilius* only being mentioned as the accuser of Servilius. As for Appius, he had himself to stand two trials; of which we have no further particulars.

*Hoc par.*] 'A capital pair of combatants,' Appius and his tool Tettius. Par; gladiatorum. So Horace:—

'Rupili et Persi *par* pugnat, uti non
Compositus melius cum Bitho Bacchius.'
*Sat.* I. vii. 19.

Cicero uses the term 'Gladiatorum compositiones.' (*Ad Div.* ii. 8.)

4. *Expectatione Galliarum.*] 'While we are waiting to know what has been done in Gaul.' Compare 'Pendeo animi expectatione Corfiniensi.'—*Ad Att.* VIII. v. 2. For an account of the following part of the letter, see the Introduction.

*Eum decedere.*] 'That Caesar should leave his province.'

5. *Auctoritates.*] The names of the Senators who witnessed the Senatus Consultum. Comp. v. 9. The senate met in the temple of Apollo in the Prata Flaminia, to secure the attendance of Pompey, who, as a general with *imperium*, could not attend a meeting in the city. Compare Introduction to Letter iii. Sometimes they met in the temple of Apollo Palatinus. See xxi. 3.

*Domitius Ahenobarbus.*] See i. 3.

*Q. Caecilius Scipio.*] He was father-in-law of Pompey, and his colleague in the latter half of his third consulship. He was with Pompey at Pharsalia, and was afterwards defeated by Caesar at Thapsus.

*L. Villius.*] Of the tribe Pomptina. Annalis was the surname of his family.

*Quirina.*] Of the tribe Quirina.

*C. Lucceius.*] C. Lucceius Hirrus. His name does not appear in the

following *senatus consulta*, which the tribunes vetoed. He probably feared to offend Caesar. See vi. 9.

*Pup.*] Tribu Pupinia.

*Pop.*] Tribu Popilia.

*Curio.*] C. Scribonius Curio. Up to this time he had acted against Caesar (sect. 10), and his support was confidently reckoned on by the senatorial party. He was now tribune *designatus*, having been elected on this understanding. The change in his policy henceforth becomes part of the history of Caesar, and will be traced, with ensuing events, in the course of subsequent letters. (See Letter xliii.)

*L. Ateius Capito.*] The same who, as tribune of the plebs in 55, had denounced the expedition of Crassus. He opposed in that year Trebonius' law concerning the distribution of the provinces. (Introd. to Letter xxiv.)

*M. Marcellus Consul.*] See Introduction and note on xxi. 1.

*Per dies comitiales.*] By the Lex Pupia it was forbidden to hold a meeting of the senate on a *dies comitialis*. This restriction was to be set aside for the occasion by this *senatus consultum*. By the usual practice, all lawful days from the beginning of the year to the kalends of February were devoted to the reception of foreign ambassadors and the external regulation of the state. If there were not sufficient, the days from the xii. Kal. Mart. might be devoted to the same business. By this *senatus consultum* all these latter days were to be given to the question of the consular provinces.

*Qui eorum.*] In order to secure a full attendance on such an important occasion, and also probably in order to implicate as many as possible in the responsibility of these proceedings, the senate was empowered to demand the attendance even of those senators who were serving on juries (xxvii. 3). The number of judices varied at different times. Under the Lex Servilia de Repetundis it was 450. At Milo's trial there were 360. In each case they were selected by the praetor out of the whole number liable to serve in the *quaestiones*. (See Ramsay's *Rom. Ant.*, p. 294.) The number CCC may be an error for CCCLX.

*I. N.*] The reading is very doubtful. Some interpret it to mean 'Intercessum est.' Others read L.V. which is not to be satisfactorily explained. Hoffman reads, *Cen*=censuerunt.

This first decree, though couched in these general terms, was really directed against Caesar. See Introduction. The next clause was intended to defeat Caesar's friends by forbidding the tribunes to exert their right of *intercessio*. Notwithstanding which these tribunes protested, and Sulpicius expressed his disapproval of the proposal of his colleague.

6. *Auctoritatem perscribi.*] This was done as a sort of protest; and no doubt the *auctoritates* given in this letter were recorded at the instance of the minority in the senate, and of the tribunes who had vetoed them.

*Ad senatum referri.*] In order that the tribune might be forced to withdraw his veto. Compare xviii. 4.

7. *De militibus.*] See Introduction. *Causas cognoscere*; To discharge from service, lit., after examining their claims for exemption. It was hoped thus to weaken Caesar's legions, and to detach his soldiers from him.

8. The provinces at the time of this letter were thus divided. 1. *Consular Provinces*, Gallia Cisalpina, Gallia Transalpina, Illyricum, Hispania Citerior, Hispania Ulterior, Cilicia, and Bithynia including Pontus. 2. *Praetorian Provinces*, Sicilia, Sardinia and Corsica, Macedonia, Africa, Achaia, Asia, Syria, Creta with the Cyrenaica.

By this resolution, the optimates intended to bring Caesar's provinces into the division of next year, so as to appoint him a successor; for, if the nine provinces here specified (Cilicia and the eight praetorian provinces) were given to praetorii, the consulares would have at their disposal besides Syria only the two Spains, now held by Pompey, and Caesar's three provinces to choose from; and they hoped to carry the selection against Caesar rather than Pompey.

*Proximi cujusque collegii.*] The praetors were to be taken in order, according to the time that had passed since their praetorship; first, those of five years; then those of four years' standing; and so on, until the whole number was made up, the praetors of each year forming a *collegium.*

*C. Pansa.*] C. Vibius Pansa, formerly an officer under Caesar, now a tribune of the people. His demand was that Caesar, following the precedent of Pompey, should be allowed to hold the civil office with the military command. He afterwards served with his colleague Hirtius, in the war of Mutina. See Letter cii.

9. *Pompeii.*] Pompey declared that the decision of the senate removed the scruples which he had felt concerning the abridgment of Caesar's command; and that on the 1st of next March, he would support the senate in carrying out their decree. If any tribunes interposed, the fault would be Caesar's, as much as if he himself disobeyed the senate; and as to the alternative that he meant to hold his command with his consulship, it was an absurdity.

*Ut aut maneat.*] Caesar would, Cicero thinks, offer one of two alternatives: 1. To stay in Gaul, and abandon his consulship for this year; 2. To leave Gaul, as soon as he was consul *designatus.* By either course he would retain his army.

*Sua ratio.*] Ratio sui absentis. His election to the consulship in his absence.

10. *Curio.*] Note on sect. 5. He had been giving some shows in honour of his late father, and had presented the panthers which he had imported for these games to Caelius, who wanted them for the exhibitions which he would have to give next year as aedile. In another letter Caelius begs Cicero to send him some panthers from Cibyra, in his province. Curio's having given these beasts to Caelius obliged him to make use of them, thus putting him to some trouble (*negotium imposuit*); if he had not done so Caelius might have dispensed with panthers altogether (*potuit supersederi*); but now he begs for some more. Compare Letter xl. 21.

*Sittianam syngrapham.*] 'A bill drawn on one Sittius.' Cicero would be able to help Philo and Diogenes to negotiate it.

## LETTER XXXVII.

Cicero recounts the circumstances of his campaign against the Pindenissians, an independent tribe, occupying a stronghold in 'Free Cilicia.'

They had always proved an embarrassment to the Roman governors, and were now expecting to cooperate with the expected invasion of the Parthians. After a siege of forty-seven days their fortress was reduced, and the clan was utterly exterminated. He also sketches his previous movements since his arrival in the province, including his expedition to Amanus.

1. *Saturnalibus.*] A. d. xiv. Kal. Jan. 19th December.

*Tanta negotia.*] Such as a campaign in Aetolia or Macedonia.

*Honorificis verbis.*] By his conciliatory and complimentary language Cicero removed all the annoyance which was felt by the provincials in consequence of the administration of Appius.

3. *τὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου.*] These words (taken from Aristot. *Eth.* iii. 8, 6) seem to come better, as Schütz suggests, after the next sentence. Cicero naturally attributes to the report of his arrival the retreat of the Parthians, which really had taken place before he was known to be approaching. See Introd. to xxxv. and note on xxxi. 1.

4. *Appellatione.*] By acquiring the name of 'imperator.'

*Laureolam.*] The '*mustaceum*,' or 'laurel-cake,' was a kind of wedding-cake baked on bay-leaves. Hence, the proverb, 'to look for a twig of laurel in the cake,' i.e., to look for fame from some small action. Bibulus hoped to gain a triumph by claiming a share in Cassius's defeat of the Parthians. Against the Parthians he himself attempted nothing, but remained shut up in his fortresses all the time they were in Syria. He seems from the following passage to have suffered some reverse in an engagement with them.

5. *Saturnalibus tertiis.*] Tertio Saturnalium die. HS. CXX. 12,000,000 sesterces; 100,000*l.*

6. *Ligurino.*] Who was this censorious critic referred to by the name of Ligurinus, is unknown. Some suppose Cato, some Hortensius. Cicero replies to the advice of Atticus that it will not be his fault if his administration of his province is not faultless. It has been worth something (*fuit tanti*) to undertake a province, if it has been only to learn his own capacity. For everything hitherto done has been admirable; his restoration of Ariobarzanes splendid, his general administration unimpeachable, and so he means it to continue.

*Ariobarzanes.*] Introd. to Letter xxxv. *Insidiatoribus.* Note on xxxv. 5. See xxxviii. 6.

*Brutum.*] Brutus was in despair about the money due to him from Ariobarzanes; but Cicero's measures had revived his hopes of ultimately recovering it.

7. *Publice literas.*] This despatch is lost. It must have been a repetition of this letter and the next.

*Sed est totum.*] 'The events of the coming 1st March are everything to me; for if Caesar refuses to leave his province I am afraid I shall have to remain here.' By the *senatus consultum* directed against Caesar, Cilicia and the eight praetorian provinces were to be given to praetorians; but if Caesar's opposition delayed the execution of the measure, the probability was, that the special provision referring to Cilicia would not be carried out, and that Cicero would have to remain there a year longer. See note on xxxvi. 8.

8. *A. d. V. Kal. Jan.*] This date seems wrong. The campaign of

Pindenissus was over by a. d. xiii. Kal. Jan., and this letter seems to have been written immediately. Perhaps we should read *a. d. XV. Kal. Jan.*

*Incendio Plaetoriano.*] Alluding to his condemnation in some action in which Seius also was involved. The matter is not known.

*Lucceius.*] See note on vi. 9. What this affair was we do not know.

9. *Quinto.*] See xl. 12. *Jubeor*, viz., by his father. *Cui moderabor.* The younger Quintus seems to have given Cicero a good deal of trouble from his violent temper.

*Deiotarus.*] See note on xxxv. 2. He had charge of the two young Cicerones.

*Nicanor.*] A slave of Atticus.

*Alexis.*] A favorite slave of Atticus, as was Tiro of Cicero. So Cicero here calls Tiro his 'Alexis.'

*Phemio quaeritur κέρας.*] This Phemius, named probably after the Homeric Phemius (*Odyss.* i. 154), was one of Atticus's liberti, for whom Atticus had begged Cicero to procure a horn. See xl. 13, where this is mentioned again, among other commissions which Cicero was executing.

10. *Thermo.*] See note on xxxiv. 2.

*Pammeni.*] It is conjectured that he was a ward of Atticus and Cicero.

## Letter XXXVIII.

Cicero gives a more detailed account of his administration of his province, and of his campaigns against the Amanus and Pindenissus, and begs Cato to promote, in the senate, his suit for a 'supplicatio.'

1. *Socios.*] The inhabitants of the province.

2. *Falso aere alieno.*] The regular interest was 1 per cent. monthly, but frequently far higher interest was exacted. Thus Brutus, under the name of Scaptius, had 48 per cent., *quaternae centesimae.* (xl. 5.) To this was added the compound interest, *anatocismus.* All this illegal interest made up the fictitious debts which Cicero cancelled.

*Seditione exercitus.*] This mutiny was occasioned by the withholding of the pay of the soldiers by Appius.

3. *Commageno.*] His name was Antiochus. He appears not to have been very trustworthy. For the invasion of the Parthians, see Introduction to Letter xxxv.

5. *Deiotarus.*] See note on xxxv. 2. Cicero speaks highly of his friendship to the Roman people in *Phil.* xi. 13, 33.

6. *Ariobarzanem.*] See Introduction to xxxv.

*Athenaidis.*] The wife of Ariobarzanes.

*Sacerdos.*] Archelaus. See note on xxxv. 5.

*Actutum.*] Other readings are, *et totus, et socius.*

8. *Utrique provinciae.*] Cilicia and Syria.

9. *Aras Alexandri.*] The altars which Alexander had erected after the battle of Issus, to Jupiter, Pallas, and Hercules.

10. *Pindenissum.*] See Letter xxxvii.

*Septimo quinquagesimo die.*] In the previous letter Cicero gives forty-seven days as the duration of the siege. Abeken considers that date to be more accurate. See xxxvii. 1.

11. *Honorem meum.*] Supplicationem.

*Clarissimo .. viro.*] This was Lentulus Spinther. Cato refused to vote him a supplicatio for his operations in Cilicia; but said that he would willingly vote a supplicatio to him for the services he had done the state, during his consulship, in promoting the recall of Cicero from exile; a compliment to Lentulus, and still more to Cicero himself. See Introduction to Letters xiv. and xvi.

*Non ut multis, &c.*] Cicero uses this phrase in *Cat.* iv. 10, *In Pisonem*, iii. 4, and elsewhere.

12. *Inimicum meum.*] Clodius.

*Milonis causa.*] See Introduction to Letter xxxi.

*Scriptis Graecis.*] Compare v. 10.

13. *Provinciam.*] This was the province of Gallia Citerior; see note on vi. 3, and compare Cicero's own words, 'Ego provinciam Galliam, senatus auctoritate exercitu et pecunia instructam et ornatam, quam cum Antonio commutavi, quod ita existimavi tempora rei publicae ferre, in concione deposui, reclamante populo Romano.'—*In Pison.* ii. 5. In Gallia he might have triumphed over the Salassi and other Alpine tribes.

*Sacerdotium.*] Auguratum. Cicero became augur in the room of P. Crassus; but in B.C. 59 we find him speaking of the augurate as the chief honour that he coveted (Letter vii. 2), and the only bait by which the triumvirs could hope to catch him.

*Post injuriam.*] Exilium.

*Exercitu imbecillo.*] A force of two legions in all. (Introd. to Letter xxxi.) In a letter to Cicero, Caelius says, 'Tuus porro exercitus vix unum saltum tueri potest.' *Ad Div.* viii. 5.

15. *Cyprus.*] Cato had reduced Cyprus to the form of a Roman province, and was therefore, by Roman custom, the *patronus* of the island, as the Marcelli were of Sicily, and the Scipios of Carthage. He was also a kind of voluntary *patronus* of Cappadocia. (sect. 6.)

*Justiores.*] 'My actions will, in this point of view, appear more complete.' Commentators have compared the phrases *Justum bellum, justus triumphus.*

16. *Ex meis literis.*] See xxxvii. 7.

## Letter XXXIX.

Before this letter was written the senate decreed Cicero the *supplicatio* that he sought. Cato, who had voted against it, congratulates Cicero briefly, and explains that he had voted against the decree on the principle on which he had opposed such decrees, that they were not the fit reward for an honorable administration of a province, and were too often used merely for ambitious purposes to pave the way for a triumph. The coolness of Cato's letter contrasts strongly with the earnestness of Cicero's.

1. *Administrari.*] Adhiberi.

2. *Praerogativam.*] The word is originally applied to the tribe or century whose vote was first asked, and which served in a great degree to lead the votes of the subsequent tribes. Here it means a 'pledge,' or 'forestalment.'

3. *Instituto itinere.*] Prout facere instituisti.

## LETTER XL.

Various matters are mentioned in this epistle, which will be explained as they occur. It is chiefly remarkable for its notice of the monetary transactions of Brutus with Ariobarzanes and the people of Salamis. The latter transaction was one of peculiar hardship, for the Salaminians had been coerced with extreme violence by Scaptius, the representative of Brutus, who had been made prefect of Cyprus by Appius. Cicero, immediately on assuming his office, had recalled Scaptius, and ordered the Salaminians to pay off the debt at the usual interest. Scaptius, however, refused to accept payment except at the interest of 48 per cent. and his demand was backed by Brutus, who confessed to Cicero that he was the real creditor. This embarrassed Cicero, for the payment of this exorbitant claim would ruin the Salaminians; while, on the other hand, former decrees of the senate, appealed to by Scaptius and his partner Manutius, declared the transaction legal, in contravention of the Gabinian law, which restricted the rate of interest to 12 per cent., the rate which Cicero had fixed by his edict to be observed in his province. But this exceptional decree Cicero determined to set aside, and refused to exact the sum claimed (200 talents) from the Salaminians, who offered at the same time, after an investigation of the accounts, to pay 106 talents. This Scaptius refused. Finally, however, Cicero, rather than offend Brutus personally, decided to leave the matter undecided for his successor to determine. From Ariobarzanes he exerted himself to obtain Brutus's money, at the sacrifice of the usual sum which the king would have sent as a present to himself; for the king owed a still larger sum to Pompey, the bare interest on which was not covered by a monthly payment of 33 Attic talents.

1. *A. d. quintum Terminalia.* On the 19th of February. The Terminalia fell on Febr. 23, which was probably originally the last month of the year.

Οἰκονομίαν.] Ordinem rerum.

*Equotutico.*] A town of Apulia, supposed to be alluded to by Horace: 'Mansuri oppidulo quod versu dicere non est.'—*Sat.* I. v. 87.

2. *Appius.*] Although Cicero found it necessary to reverse much that Appius had done, and consequently incurred his displeasure, like a medical man who changed the treatment of his predecessor, yet he was anxious not unnecessarily to quarrel with Appius, who was on intimate terms with Pompey; and he went so far as to address an apologetic letter to him (xli); and his testimony went far to procure the acquittal of Appius on his impeachment by Dolabella. For this service, Appius, we are told here, expressed his gratitude to Atticus.

ἐξ ἀφαιρέσεως.] On the system of depletion.

προσανατρεφομένην.] Restored by food and stimulants.

3. *Revocavi me.*] Cicero seems to have been about to add: 'But now have changed my feeling towards him' (probably in consequence of the affair of Salamis); but he checks himself for fear of offending Atticus, and proceeds to show that he had done all he could to oblige Brutus, especially in the matter of Ariobarzanes (see Introduction) whose whole revenue was not sufficient to pay the mere interest of the sum which he

owed to Pompey. Cicero did his best to get money from the king, but with poor success.

4. *Tutela.*] Cicero had taken Ariobarzanes under his protection. See note on xxxv. 4. 'He must either,' he says, 'abdicate his guardianship, or, as Scaevola did, in the case of his ward Glabrio, make a formal declaration on behalf of the king that his property was unequal to the payment of either simple or compound interest (*foenus et impendium recusare*).

*M. Scaptio.*] This was not the person mentioned below with reference to the Salaminians. Cicero explains that he was ready to oblige Brutus, by giving praefectures to as many of his friends as he chose, provided they were not engaged in traffic in his province. The other Scaptius had previously held a prefecture in Cyprus, which he used as a means of pressing the Salaminians with such cruelty, and this was an additional reason for refusing him a renewal of the office.

5. *Salaminiis.*] For this business, see the Introduction, and Abeken, pp. 241–245. Cicero did not discover for some little time that Brutus was the real creditor.

*Centesimis.*] 'They were to pay off their debt at the rate of twelve per cent. for six years, the interest being added to the principal every year.' But Scaptius wanted four times this interest, a demand which Cicero would not allow, as being in direct contravention of the edict which he had published on entering on his province, with the approval of all business men.

*Catonis.*] Cato had reduced Cyprus to the form of a province. In this expedition he was attended by Brutus. Consequently they were both considered to be patrons of the island.

6. *Torquato.*] L. Manlius. A leading optimate. He was killed after the battle of Pharsalia, in attempting to escape to Africa.

7. *Me jus dicente.*] 'When I sat in this court on this matter.' Scaptius might then have got all that was justly due to him.

*Quod vereor . . . probem.*] Even Atticus would hardly approve of Cicero's conduct to the Salaminians; for when they appeared before his tribunal, he urged them to pay Scaptius's original claim, threatening compulsion if they refused.

*Paullus.*] L. Aemilius Paullus, now consul, a friend of Brutus. It was possible that he might succeed Cicero in the province.

*Ne . . . provocabo.*] Atticus, with all his friendship for Brutus, could not but allow that Scaptius had come off well in getting under Cicero's decree twelve per cent. with compound interest. There would be no need to appeal to a disinterested person like Cato.

8. *'Εγκελεύσματα.*] Hortationes.

Τὸ γὰρ εὖ μετ' ἐμοῦ.] Aristoph. *Acharn.* 660.

*Sex libris.*] The treatise *De Republica*. Compare Letter xxix. 1, note.

*Cn. Flavio.*] This was the secretary of Appius Claudius Caecus. He published in B.C. 309 a calendar of *dies fasti* and *nefasti* for the benefit of suitors, and a digest of the forms of law actions. See Livy ix. 46. He became tribune of the plebs immediately afterwards, and curule aedile, B.C. 303. Atticus seems to have shown his historical ignorance by his objection to the anecdote put by Cicero into the mouth of Africanus.

The office of curule aedile was created B.C. 365, eighty-four years after the Decemviri.

*Tu sceleste suspicaris.*] This is explained to mean that Atticus interpreted what Cicero had said simply (ἀφελῶς) about some actor, as if it was meant to apply to Hortensius.

9. *De me imperatore.*] Cicero was saluted 'imperator' by his troops after the capture of Pindenissus. (Letters xxxvii. and xxxviii.)

10. *De Tullia.*] Tullia was now about to be married to Dolabella her third husband, who divorced his wife Fabia that he might be free to make this match. Cicero had intended to marry Tullia to Tiberius Claudius Nero; but the engagement was complete before he could write to Rome. The matter embarrassed Cicero; for he did not wish Appius, whom Dolabella was prosecuting for maladministration of his province, to suppose that he meant to support Dolabella in his suit. Atticus was pleased that Tullia was about to marry an *eques*, one of Cicero's old connexion ('*veterem gregem*').

*Epistola Memmiana.*] A letter in which Cicero had recommended Memmius to Terentia as a son-in-law. For Memmius, see xxvi. 4. 'I now,' says Cicero, 'acknowledge and correct the mistake I made in that letter, and prefer my present (*hunc*) son-in-law, though only an *eques*, to the other, patrician though he be.' *A Pontidia* and *a Servilia.* 'Recommended by Pontidia and Servilia.' The former must be Dolabella. Who the latter was is unknown. He cannot be Tiberius, Cicero's own choice. Pontidia is mentioned in a former letter to Atticus (v. xxi. 14) in which he says that the person recommended by her was not to be thought of for a moment. He had now changed his opinion.

*Debet ... crevisse.*] 'Cernere hereditatem' to 'enter on an inheritance.' 'Aufius' (it is uncertain who is meant) 'ought,' says Cicero, 'to have inherited his brother Appius's friendship for himself with his other property.

*In Bursa.*] Appius showed his esteem for Cicero in the case of Manutius Plancus Bursa, whom he probably had condemned when prosecuted by Cicero for bribery.

11. *Furnii exceptio.*] He had probably proposed a bill that Cicero and Bibulus should be allowed to return from their provinces, provided that (this was the *exceptio*) there was no movement of the Parthians before June. That was, says Cicero, the most likely time for the Parthians to move, and therefore it was just this proviso that annoyed him.

*Dissimulantem*]. An epithet which Atticus had used of Pompey, in his correspondence with Cicero.

Οἰκονομια.] See sect. i. 'If my letter is written without any order, it is your fault; for I follow your random order.'

12. *Ephoro et Theopompo.*] Both were scholars of Isocrates, and both distinguished in their day as historians, and Theopompus as a busy politician in his native state, Chios. Date about 350 B.C.

*Quasi intercalatum non sit.*] Whether there be an intercalation or not, I shall keep the day as if there were none. The *Liberalia* fell on March 21 (a. d. xii. kal. Apr.). Cicero could not know of any intercalation at that distance, if there were any. Compare xxxi. 2.

*Dionysius.*] Note on xxx. 3.

13. *Thermus.*] Propraetor of Asia.

*Silium.*] Propraetor of Bithynia and Pontus.

*Nonius.*] Propraetor of Crete and Cyrenaica.

*Scrofa.*] Cn. Tremellius Scrofa was one of the judices on the trial of Verres, spoken of in high terms by Cicero. *In Verr.* I. x. 30. At this time he was either propraetor of Macedonia, in which case Cicero hopes he may find an opportunity of distinguishing himself there; or, he was expecting that province, in which case Cicero hopes he may obtain it, and thus have an opportunity of showing his integrity (*honeste se gerendi*), while at the same time he might make a very good thing of it. *Est enim lautum negotium.* Macedonia was a favourite province (see note on i. 2) in consequence of the opportunities it offered for making money.

*Caeteri.*] 'As for the others they are too corrupt.'

*Causam meam.*] 'The object I have in view,' viz. of leaving his province at the end of the year.

*Amiano.*] These three probably owed Atticus money. Some consider Moeragenes to have been a runaway slave of Atticus, who had joined the robbers and perished. This seems to be implied by Cicero's next words.

*Rhosiaca vasa.*] Rhosos, a seaport near Antioch, famous for its crockery.

*Olusculis.*] Atticus did not live on vegetables like his master Epicurus.

Κέρας.] See xxxvii. 9.

14. *Parthicum bellum.*] Note on Letter xxxi. 1. Cassius had written Cicero word that he had repulsed the Parthians; which Cicero characterises as an empty boast. At this moment, the danger seemed to himself very threatening, and he hopes that Bibulus' despatches will have the effect of alarming the senate in good time. Otherwise what is to become of himself in June and July, or of his successor, if Bibulus can keep the enemy at bay so long, he does not know.

*Deiotaro.*] Note on xxxv. 2.

*In nostra provincia.*] In Cyrrhestica, part of the province of Syria.

15. *De Bibuli edicto.*] Bibulus' manifesto, on entering on his province, was rather hard upon the knights in Atticus' opinion. Cicero's had a similar clause, though less express in its terms, borrowed from the *edictum* of Q. Mucius Scaevola, the pontifex maximus, consul with L. Crassus A.U.C. 659, and proconsul of Asia. He was put to death by C. Marius. The clause of Bibulus referred specially to *pactiones*, any uncertainty in which would be very damaging to the *publicani*. Cicero's covered all transactions.

διαίρεσιν.] Cicero divided his edict into two parts, as he goes on to explain.

*Magistris faciendis.*] Compare i. 3. *Vendendis*, in the common text, follows *faciendis*, wrongly.

*Peregrinis judicibus.*] Graecis. 'And although they may be worthless fellows enough, yet not worse than your respectable judices at Rome.'

16. *Usuras.*] Cicero made a compromise between the publicani and their debtors. If the debtors paid within a given time, liberally fixed, they would get off with interest of 12 per cent.; if not, they would have to pay whatever interest had been fixed by their bonds. The Greeks were thus relieved of heavy interest, and the publicani were glad to get back their money even with less interest.

*μηδὲν αὐτοῖς.*] Ernesti adds *μέλει* in his *Index Graecitatis*; but in his note says, '*nihil iis concedo praeter jus.*' But is not Cicero quoting some well-known proverb, perhaps, such as *μηδὲν πλέον (αὐτοῖς) νέμῃς*, or the like?

17. *Ὦ πραγμάτων ἀσυγκλώστων.*] 'What a medley of subjects; but that was the very charm of your letter.' Compare sect. 11, ad fin.

*Africani.*] Scipio (great grandson of the P. Scipio Nasica Serapion) called Metellus after his adoptive father, claimed as a statue of his great grandfather one of Scipio Africanus the younger, which stood in the temple of Ops, and had been mentioned as Africanus' statue by Cicero in his *De Republica*, and another also which stood in the temple of Pollux. But both these statues were inscribed CENS., and Scipio ought to have known that his ancestor was never censor. Metellus had carried his mistake so far as to have the name of Serapion inscribed on the statue which he placed with others in the Capitol. The inscription on the first statue, and also the style and dress of the second, proved him wrong. The common text has CONS. instead of CENS., but obviously incorrect.

18. *Flavio.*] Note on sect. 8. Here Cicero seems himself to doubt the authenticity of the story of Flavius, although he has given a good account of it above.

*Eupolis.*] Died B.C. 411. The reputed founder of the 'Old Comedy.'

*Zaleucum.*] This was no error; but Timaeus was wrong.

*Post eum consulem.*] And no one could hold the office of censor but a consularis.

20. *Illud.*] Atticus seems to have hinted obscurely that some questionable transactions were going on in Cicero's province.

21. *Caelius.*] Caelius wanted panthers from Cibyra for his aedilitian shows, and also begged Cicero's assistance in getting some money for him from some of the cities in his province. See his letter above, xxxvi. 10. The aediles considered that the provinces might be fleeced to supply them; and Cicero told him in reply that he would not join in any scheme of taxing the provincials, nor put them to the expense of furnishing animals for his friends. This letter to Caelius is lost.

22. *Lepta.*] Cicero's *praefectus fabrum*.

*Literarum.*] Supply *dies*, The date of your letter, dated 31 December.

*Juris jurandi.*] Cicero, on laying down his consulship, was forbidden by Metellus Nepos, the tribune, to speak to the people. He therefore contented himself with adding to the usual oath taken by consuls on leaving office, words to the effect that he had served the state. The people ratified his boast by their applause. Cicero always retained a proud recollection of this circumstance, and did not need Atticus's mention of it to recall it to his mind.

*Magnus . . . praetextatus.*] A very doubtful expression, explained by Schütz to mean, 'I wore my broadest praetexta in honor of the day,' when it came round; said probably in joke. Another probable interpretation is, 'I was never greater as a consul than on that day.'

*χρύσεα χαλκείων.*] *Iliad.* vi. 236.

23. *Lucceius.*] Note on vi. 9. 'Lucceius has had a good opportunity of selling his Tusculan property. Though perhaps he wishes to keep it. For he used to enjoy himself there with his flute-player.' This is at best a conjectural translation of an obscure passage.

*Proscripsisse.*] Sc. venalem. Compare xviii. 7.

*Expeditos.*] Sc. aere alieno.

*αἴδεσθεν.*] Of the Greeks who shrunk from battle with Hector. (*Iliad.* vii. 93.) These men belonged to the optimates, but were so much in debt that they could not do otherwise than sell themselves to Caesar.

*Memmio.*] Introduction to xxxii. He was still in exile.

*Nomine.*] Money owed by him to Cicero.

*Minori.*] Epistolae.

25. *Herodem.*] Atticus thinking probably to embarrass Caesar, had got back from him, through his agent Herodes, fifty talents, much to Pompey's displeasure, who thought Caesar ought to have paid him what was still owing of his daughter Julia's dowry, rather than borrow money from Atticus to build his villa in the Nemus (grove of Diana) of Aricia. (Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 263–272.) 'He thinks you have got *his* money, and that Caesar will push on his villa all the same, in spite of your having made him repay you.'

*P. Vedio.*] This may have been some relation of Augustus's friend Vedius Pollio, who fed his lampreys on the flesh of his slaves.

*Si Curio legem.*] Curio proposed a law for the improvement of the roads in Italy, these improvements to be paid by a tax on all equipages.

*Pompeium Vindullum.*] Perhaps a freedman of Pompey's. By his death his property would go to his *patronus.*

*Bruti.*] Cicero jokes on their names. Brutus must be a fool to be a friend to such a man; and Lepidus a funny fellow to allow his wife to send her picture to him. Junia, sister of Brutus, was Lepidus's wife. Cicero chuckles over this little exposure; 'We are both fond of a nice bit of gossip.'

26. *Puto.*] 'I should think so.' 'If so,' Cicero says, 'tell me yourself. For otherwise I rather fancy having some monument at Athens.'

*Alienarum.*] Statues put up by others, with fulsome inscriptions.

*Mysteria.*] The *Sacra Bonae Deae* fell generally on the 1st of May; but if any time had been intercalated, this day would be changed. See above, sect. 12.

*Leuctricam pugnam.*] The fray between Milo and Clodius. Compare 'pugna Bovillana,' xxxiv. 1. The mention of the rites of Bona Dea probably reminded him of Clodius.

## Letter XLI.

Cicero writes to assure Appius that he was not in any way concerned with the prosecution of Dolabella, and promises him his services. He explains that he had thrown no impediment in the way of the deputations which had been sent from the province to give their testimony in Appius's favour, and gives an account of the steps he had taken since his arrival in the province to support the dignity and reputation of Appius, promising that he would pursue the same course for the future. He concludes by expressing his wish that Appius may soon be censor. From this letter, to use the words of Abeken, it appears 'how little it cost him, when a political friendship was at stake, not only to conceal

his true sentiments, but to express the very opposite. His testimony was of the greatest service to Appius, who was honorably acquitted; and the upright governor of Cilicia sent his congratulations on the event, as though the accused had been the most innocent of men. Soon after this Appius was appointed censor, in conjunction with Caesar's father-in-law, Calpurnius Piso. He exercised the utmost rigour in the discharge of his new duties; and amongst the first of those whom he turned out of the senate was the historian Sallust.' Abeken, p. 241.

1. *Eorum.*] Dolabella and his supporters. Compare xl. 10, note.

*Triumphum.*] Appius had entered the city to meet the attack of Dolabella, and had thus abandoned his prospects of obtaining a triumph.

2. *Q. Servilius.*] A friend of Appius, not otherwise known.

*Nollem accidisset tempus.*] The opportunity given by this accusation.

3. *Pomptinius.*] He was now Cicero's *legatus*, and had been praetor in Cicero's consulship. After his praetorship he had defeated and triumphed over the Allobroges. Four years after his return from that province we learn from a letter to Atticus (iv. 16) that he obtained his triumph mainly by the influence of Appius, who was then consul. (A.U.C. 700.)

*Laodiceam revertit.*] To be on the spot to prevent witnesses going from the province against Appius.

*Ut censores creentur.*] Appius seems to have carried this point, that *comitia* should be held for the election of censors, by his influence with Pompey. He and his colleague were the last censors elected by the people.

*Hic.*] In the province.

*Istic.*] In Rome.

5. *In eo adolescente.*] Dolabella. What the particular charges were on which Cicero defended him is not known. As for Dolabella's conduct, Cicero says, 'that it was such that he would rather break off his old acquaintance with him than make a new connection with him, as he was now doing.' Dolabella seems to have pretended that Cicero was about to make him his son-in-law, knowing that he was going to attack Appius, and meant to help him.

6. *Alienum tempus.*] It was not a proper time to annoy Appius by expostulations now that he had his trial on his hands.

*Epicteto.*] Part of Phrygia. The *Lex Cornelia* of Sulla limited the expense (*sumptus*) to be incurred in sending deputations to Rome from the provinces with *laudationes* for their governors. Even this Cicero did not press too severely, as the public accounts of the various cities showed. *Induxit*, sc. *in rationes*. Compare Verr. II. i. 41.

7. *Quibus mendaciis.*] 'What falsehoods about me have been poured into your ears!'

8. *Ne tunc quidem.*] Not even when Appius was supporting his brother Clodius in his attacks on Cicero. Compare xvii. 6; xix. 3.

*Puteolis.*] As Appius was on his way to his province.

9. *Sacerdotii.*] The augurate, of which both Cicero and Appius were now members.

10. *Quum ipse abesset.*] When Pompey, being a general *cum imperio*, was without the city. Note on xxxvi. 5.

*Invidia.*] Cicero's enemies endeavoured to throw upon him the odium of complicity with Milo in the death of Clodius.

11. *Cognosce.*] This portion of the letter is wanting, and is supposed to have been withdrawn by Cicero himself.

### Letter XLII.

Cicero had now received the news of the *supplicatio* which had been granted him, and writes to thank Cato for his expressions of praise and esteem, and trusts that if he will not favour his suit for a triumph, at all events, he will not oppose it, and be glad if he obtains it.

1. *Laetus sum.*] A line from Naevius's play. See xxii. 7.

*Quem ego currum, &c.*] Quem triumphum. If he had nothing to think of but himself, Cato's praise would be more than sufficient for him; but a triumph was now, as he had explained to Cato before (xxxviii. 14) necessary to him for the recovery of his social position, which had been so much impaired by his exile and the events which had preceded it.

2. *Scribendo adfuisti.*] Compare v. 9; xxxvi. 5.

---

## Sixth Division of Letters.

## TO THE CIVIL WAR.

### Letters XLIII–XLVI.

In these letters we have the first notice of the quarrel between Caesar and Pompey (xliii.), Cicero's own hesitation, and his hope that he might be able to intercede between them (xliv.), of which he despairs after an interview with Pompey (xlv.), while he doubts which course is the best to pursue, so as to put Caesar in the wrong (xlvi.).

### Letter XLIII.

This letter brings us to the very threshold of the Civil War. The earlier steps of the quarrel between Pompey and Caesar have been traced in the Introduction to Letter xxxvi. Caesar had meanwhile terminated the Gallic war, and was concentrating his forces in Gallia Cisalpina. Although he had nearly despaired of peace, yet he offered to make every sacrifice which was consistent with his own safety, in order to defer the outbreak of the conflict. Of the two consuls, L. Aemilius Paullus was bribed by Caesar, but C. Claudius Marcellus was his bitter enemy, and prepared to press the recall of Caesar in the senate. Nor would he permit Caesar to avail himself of the law of Caelius by which he was authorised to offer himself for the consulship in his absence. Caius Curio, formerly a determined opponent of Caesar (compare x. 1; xxxvi. 5), but now his advocate in the contest, having assumed a position of feigned impartiality, agreed to the proposal that Caesar should be

recalled, on the condition that Pompey should lay down his command. Caesar accepted Curio's proposal in his own person. Thus the decision of the question was postponed for some months, while both parties were drifting surely towards the inevitable end. Caelius foresees that the actual contest cannot be far off, and that, if it could be enjoyed without danger, the spectacle would be a grand one.

As for Caesar, he affected indifference to the measures of the senate, and his enemies foolishly supposed him to be at the end of his resources. Pompey was now travelling in Italy after his serious illness (Juvenal, x. 283), and though he offered to disband his army, yet he delayed the fulfilment of his promise, while he urged that, the war in Gaul being now at an end, Caesar was bound to disband his troops.

1. *Arsacen.*] This was Orodes I., the fourteenth of the Arsacidae, king of Parthia.

*Domitii.*] Ahenobarbi. He had been a candidate for the place in the College of Augurs, vacated by the death of Hortensius; but was afterwards defeated by Antony, through Caesar's influence. The augurs were this time elected by the people in the *comitia tributa.* Domitius looked on his defeat as the greater slight because he was a *consularis*, and Antony had not yet held any office. Antony had gained his election in great measure by the aid of Curio, and as Caelius was an intimate friend of the latter, he was not without reason suspected by Ahenobarbus.

*Sex. Peducaei.*] The acquittal of Peducaeus gave good reason to hope that the defendant might be acquitted. What he was tried for does not appear.

2. *Cn. Pompeius.*] See the Introduction.

*Illi amores.*] The old friendship between Pompey and Caesar.

3. *Civiliter.*] In a constitutional manner.

4. *Appium.*] Appius Claudius, now censor (Introduction to Letter xli.) was a strong partisan of Pompey, and by his vigorous purification of the senate aimed at strengthening the oligarchical party. But, on the contrary, the disgraced senators and knights revenged themselves by joining the standard of Caesar. The other censor was Piso, Caesar's father-in-law. 'Appius,' says Caelius, 'seems to look on the censorship as a kind of cosmetic or soap, but he uses it too strong, for while he wants only to wash away the dirt he injures the constitution.'

*Legis Scantiniae.*] Against immorality.

*Parthicum bellum.*] This war, as we have seen, was now impending, and the senate had requested both Caesar and Pompey to furnish each one legion for the East. Caesar sent his legion, and also one which he had borrowed from Pompey; but they were stationed at Capua, instead of being sent to the East, in readiness to be employed against Caesar.

## Letter XLIV.

Cicero is now on his way back from his province, and debates with great perplexity the line of conduct which it will be to his interest to take in the impending war. This hesitation we shall witness in many of the following letters. Notwithstanding the threatening state of affairs,

Cicero does not lay aside his hopes of a triumph, and builds upon Caesar's support in his suit. No doubt, one reason for this request is to be found in the fact that as long as Cicero was a suitor for a triumph he could remain without the walls of the city, and thus avoid the necessity of giving his vote in the senate on either side (sect. 5). He hopes to be able to maintain the ambiguous policy which he had adopted towards Caesar in former years; but, above all, he wishes that he had remained in his province, although he had been so anxious to escape from it.

1. *L. Saufeio.*] A Roman knight, an Epicurean, and friend of Atticus, by whose intercession his property was restored after being confiscated by the Triumviri. 'He would be likely,' says Cicero, 'to take his time about his errand, but sooner or later (*ut philosophi ambulant*), the letter would reach Atticus.'

*Illas.*] 'My last letter.'

*De legionibus Caesaris.*] The report was (*Ad Att.* vi. 9) that Caesar had sent to Placentia four of his legions; and, in consequence of it, the consul C. Marcellus proposed that the senate should order Pompey to march against him. In reality, as Curio showed the senate, he had not more than one legion in that part of his province.

φιλοτιμία.] A play on the name of Terentia's *libertus*, *Philotimus*, who had got himself, and probably Cicero too, into difficulties in his management of the purchase of Milo's property. Cicero writes of him in a very reserved manner. Compare *Ad Att.* VI. v. 3.

*De quo.*] Turanius had given Atticus an incorrect account of Cicero's disposal of his province. Schütz reads *Denique de quo*, &c. referring it to *cur fratrem*, &c. I follow him, except in the omission of the *Denique.* The matter Cicero had explained in *Att.* vi. 9, which he refers to here, and previously in vi. 6.

*Xenone.*] An Epicurean philosopher, and friend of Atticus.

2. *Utrumque.*] Caesarem et Pompeium. Atticus had often advised him to respond more cordially to Caesar's offers; but *at first* he had foolishly neglected this advice.

πατρίδος.] In Homer (*Odyss.* ix. 33) the line runs,

ἔπειθον
ὡς οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἧς πατρίδος.

Cicero probably read, πατρίδος ὡς κ.τ.λ. and here quotes the first words of the line. He applies the lines thus, 'I could not, even by your advice, sacrifice my country to my interest, as I should have done by attaching myself to Caesar.'

3. *Nam Pompeius.*] Cicero considers Pompey to be maintaining the senate, and with it the constitution.

4. *Quum venero.*] I am afraid of what may happen in the senate after my return to Rome; and particularly that I shall be asked to give my opinion on the two great questions: *Ne ratio absentis habeatur*, 'That Caesar shall not be allowed to compete for the consulship in his absence;' and '*Ut exercitum dimittat*, 'That he shall be called upon to disband his army:' (see the last letter) for when I am asked my opinion I can't say 'Wait, if you please, till I have consulted Atticus.'

*Densae dexterae.*] Crebra promissa.

*Ravennae.*] Literis Ravennae scriptis. Caesar had begged Cicero to

persuade M. Caelius, tribune of the plebs, to bring in his bill '*Ut ratio absentis haberetur.*' See Introduction to xliii.

*Cnaeo.*] Pompey, too, in his wonderful third consulate, supported the demands of Caesar. The consulate was '*divine*' in the sense partly of 'glorious,' partly of 'wonderful,' 'strange,' with a sense of irony. In Letter L. (*Att.* viii. 3) he gives a severe, though just, sketch of Pompey's conduct.

*Αἰδέομαι . . . Πολυδάμας.*] See note vii. 1.

5. *Marcellorum.*] See List of Consuls; and for the debates concerning Caesar's province, Letter xxxvi.

*Ut stultus.*] Cicero implies that the man who should be the first to give his opinion on this subject would be foolish; and says that he means to avoid the difficulty by claiming a triumph, which would give him a good excuse for remaining outside the city.

*Omnia illa prima.*] All that Cicero had said about the abstinence and virtues of his suite in Cilicia had now vanished and, as it were, melted away.

*ἐπιτηκτά.*] 'Επιτηκτὰ is by some explained to mean 'superficial,' like ornaments which are merely welded on, and not part of the material; but the meaning given above seems most suitable to this passage.

6. *C. Caelio.*] The responsibility of nominating a representative who should take charge of his province till his successor arrived had rested with Cicero. Rejecting the claims of his brother (sect. i.) and of Mescinius, his quaestor, he finally chose Caelius, who had just come into the province as quaestor, and although he could not justify the appointment on public grounds, he made it, rather than delay any longer away from Rome.

*Annuum.*] Out of the annual revenue raised for himself in the province he gave Caelius a year's income as quaestor, thus virtually out of his own pocket, and the rest he paid into the provincial treasury, instead of dividing it amongst his suite. This gave great offence, although Cicero had not neglected to give every one of his suite such rewards as were proper.

*ἐκβολὴ λόγου.*] Digressio. See Thucyd. i. 97.

7. *Plus decrevit.* In opposing Cicero's demand for a *supplicatio*, Cato had declared that it was an honour unworthy of Cicero's merits. See xlii. 1.

*Favonius.*] See vi. 9.

*Scribendo adfuit.*] Compare xlii. 2.

*Jucundissimas literas.*] Letter xxxix.

*Caesar . . . triumphat.*] Caesar exults in Cato's conduct, as being likely to alienate Cicero from him.

8. *Hirrum.*] Hirrus bore Cicero a grudge for having defeated him in his application for the augurate.

*Scrofa.*] A cognomen of Tremellius, not the propraetor of Macedonia (xl. 13). He and Silius were senators.

*Crassipedem.*] Cicero's former son-in-law (xxiii. 11). Cicero appears, from a notice of him in *Att.* ix. 11, to have continued to be on friendly terms with him.

9. *Ab illo.*] Philotimo (sect. 1). Who Lartidius was is unknown. There is no ground for reading 'Lartiades' (Ulysses) as some have done. He was in all probability some dishonest libertus.

*Mirus est φυράτης.*] So in *Att.* vi. 4, he is said πεφυρακέναι τὰς ψήφους, 'conturbasse rationes.'

'Αλλά.] 'Let bygones be bygones.' *Il.* xviii. 112.

*Hoc . . . Precianum.*] A legacy left to Cicero by Precianus, a lawyer. He begs that this may not be placed in the hands of Philotimus.

*Dolori meo.*] His regret at the loss of his friend.

Ἄμεμπτα.] 'I do not think that Philotimus will be able to blame me for preferring you to him.' Philotimus was to pay over to Atticus all the money he had, to be held by Atticus, with a view to the expenses of Cicero's triumph.

## Letter XLV.

Cicero had now returned to Italy, as a general, attended by his lictors, and had an interview with Pompey at Alba. Pompey advised him not to interfere in the discussions of the senate, which Cicero would be able to do if it were convened outside the walls (xxxvi. 5), knowing that Cicero was in correspondence with Caesar, and fearing probably that he would endeavour to effect a reconciliation between Caesar and the senate. Cicero sees little hope of a good understanding between Caesar and Pompey, though he can hardly persuade himself that Caesar will risk his fortune on a desperate throw.

1. *Dionysium.*] See xxx. 3.

2. *Ante . . . quam rem confecissem.*] 'Before obtaining my triumph.'

*Hirtium.*] He was a *legatus* of Caesar, and the supposed author of book viii. of Caesar's *Commentaries.* He fell, with Pansa, at Mutina (cii.). This embassy of Hirtius may probably have had the same object as the later mission of Curio. Hirtius appears to have arranged, through Balbus, an interview with Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, the same whose *senatus consultum* brought affairs to a crisis shortly after (Caesar, *De Bell. Civ.* i. 1); but he left Rome hurriedly in the night. This looked as if Caesar had not authorised him to make any peaceful arrangements.

*Balbus.*] See xxv. 2.

3. *Alterum consulatum.*] 'Ut absens alterum consulatum petere posset.' This had been proposed by Caelius, and had been carried; though the Marcelli, consuls for this year and the last, had refused to allow the law to be carried into effect. See introduction to Letter xliii.

## Letter XLVI.

In this letter Cicero discusses various alternatives that may arise out of Caesar's conduct, and begs Atticus to say which he thinks the best course to pursue. He seems to incline to the opinion that if Caesar's demands are rejected there will be war, and the responsibility of commencing it will rest on him. The most simple course would be for Caesar to lay down his command, and so be made consul: but even here there is danger; for if he was so powerful in his former consulship, what would he be now? Pompey, at all events, would leave Rome for his province if Caesar were consul. The boldest course would be to call on Caesar to submit to the terms of the senate, and on his refusal to join battle with him. It is

evident from the general tone of this letter, as well as from some particular expressions, that Cicero is repeating the arguments used by Pompey in their late interview.

1. *L. Quintius*] Probably the same who had been tribunus plebis, A.U.C. 679.

*Basili.*] A tomb on the Appian Way, notorious, it appears, for highway robberies.

2. *Quum sit necesse.*] The apodosis to all three clauses is 'quod horum malorum . . . putes.'

*Si per tribunos plebis.*] Caesar might employ the tribunes to interrupt the comitia, in which case no consuls would be elected for the following year.

*Si forte tribunus plebis.*] This was the course actually adopted by Curio, who, on laying down his office (Dec. 10), considering war to be actually declared by the act of the consul in delivering to Pompey the guardianship of the city, fled to Caesar's camp at Ravenna. So, too, the departure of M. Antonius and Q. Cassius in the following January, and their arrival at Caesar's camp, was the signal for the outbreak of the Civil War.

*Notatus.*] Branded by a declaration of the senate, as a traitor. Perhaps it may be explained, 'degraded from his office by violence.' This agrees with the words of Caesar, in his speech to his soldiers, 'Novum in Rep. introductum exemplum queritur ut tribunicia intercessio armis notaretur atque opprimeretur.' (*Bell. Civ.* i. 6.) Pompey overawed the tribunes by placing his troops round the senate house. *Circumscriptus*, 'hindered from exercising his office.'

3. *Contra dici nihil possit.*] For then he would be claiming the consulate in a legitimate manner.

*Ut quidam putat.*] Viz. Pompeius.

*Consulatu priore.*] A.U.C. 695. See Introduction to Letter vii. *Vidisti*, viz., Atticus. The natural transition here has given rise to several variations in the text. So *inquis*.

*Pompeio.*] This plan was afterwards revived by Caelius Rufus and Marcus Calidius, in the debate that was occasioned by the delivery of Caesar's letter on the next Jan. 1, in the senate (Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* i. 1). It was perhaps hoped that a collision would thus be avoided. See note on xxv. 1.

*Id ipsum.*] Caesar's election to the consulate. If he stoops, says Cicero, to a legal election he will gain general popularity; and this was the effect of his moderation in contrast with the arrogance of Pompey.

4. *Tollamus igitur hoc.*] Let us put out of consideration this supposition, that Caesar will consent to return to Rome as a private citizen.

*Quod . . postulat.*] The prolongation of his *imperium*. Caesar would in the spring of the next year be entering on the tenth year of his command. Cicero here is anticipating what would be said, if the question were debated after March 1, the next year.

*Ut succedatur, decernitur.*] Cicero here expresses only the general resolution that had been adopted by the senate that Caesar's successors should be appointed on the 1st of March. (See Letter xxxvi., Introduction.) The course of events hurried these appointments, and on

the 7th Jan. 705, the province of Transalpine Gaul was assigned to L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, that of Cisalpine Gaul to Marcus Servilius Novianus.

*Habe mei rationem.*] Caesar might ask for leave to keep his command till the consular elections as a favour, on the ground that he had waived the advantage given him by the law of Caelius.

---

## Seventh Division of Letters.

## CIVIL WAR.

## Letters XLVII.-LXI.

The letters of Cicero during this period will give us a clearer insight into his character than those of any other period. It was long before he could decide openly to embrace either side. While he anticipated in Caesar another Cinna or Sulla, or even a Hannibal (xlvii.), he could not deny, on the other hand, that the effect of Pompey's victory would be to expose Italy to the horrors of a reign of terror (liii.); while in more than one letter he comments on the folly and impotence of Pompey's counsels (xlviii. l.), and recognises the good effects of Caesar's politic moderation (lii.). Still, in spite of all Caesar's efforts to gain Cicero (liv. lvi. lix.) he at last determines to join Pompey (lvii.), and in the last letter of this series we find him in Pompey's camp. For the general history of this period the reader should consult Abeken, book vii., Merivale, chap. xii. xiii. and Mommsen's *History of Rome*, vol. iv. chap. ix. x.

The following Table will be of use for the Letters of Divisions VII. and VIII.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.U.C. 705. | Jan. 12. | Caesar crosses the Rubicon. |
| B.C. 49. | Feb. 20. | Surrender of Corfinium. |
| | Mar. 17. | Pompey leaves Brundisium. |
| | June 23. | Caesar arrives in Spain. |
| | Aug. 2. | Capitulation of the Pompeians. |
| | ? | Surrender of Massilia. |
| | ? | Death of Curio in Africa. |
| A.U.C. 706. | Jan. 4. | Caesar sets sail for Epirus. |
| B.C. 48. | Aug. 9. | Battle of Pharsalia. |
| | Sept. 28. | Death of Pompey. |
| | ? | Caesar arrives in Egypt. |
| A.U.C. 707. B.C. 47. | March 27. | Battle of the Nile, and submission of Alexandria. |
| | Aug. 2. | Battle of Zela. |
| | September. | Caesar returns to Italy. |
| | November. | Caesar sails for Africa. |
| | Dec. 25. | Caesar lands at Hadrumetum. |
| A.U.C. 708. | Jan. 4. | Skirmish at Ruspina. |
| B.C. 46. | April 6. | Battle of Thapsus. |
| | June 13. | Caesar leaves Utica. |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A.U.C. 708. | July 11. | Caesar returns to Rome. |
| B.C. 46. | August and September. | Fourfold triumph of Caesar. |
| | ? December. | Caesar leaves Rome for Spain. |
| A.U.C. 709. | Febr. 19. | Capture of Ategua. |
| B.C. 45. | March 17. | Battle of Munda. |
| | September. | Caesar returns to Rome. |
| A.U.C. 710. | Jan. 1. | Caesar Cos. V. |
| B.C. 44. | Mar. 15. | Death of Caesar. |

To the end of A.U.C. 708, the dates are given according to the old or uncorrected reckoning. After that year the real time is given. See Introduction to Letter lxviii.

## Letter XLVII.

This letter was written on the 21st January. The decree of the senate, which immediately followed the departure of M. Antonius and Q. Cassius, and which virtually proclaimed war against Caesar, was passed on Jan. 7th. Caesar had crossed the Rubicon on Jan. 12th, and on the receipt of these news Pompey had left Rome, and was endeavouring to collect his army at Luceria. Meanwhile Caesar advanced into Picenum, and gained the towns there. It was at this time that Labienus joined Pompey. To Cicero was committed the charge of the Campanian District. In this letter he inveighs against Caesar, and laments Pompey's departure from Rome.

1. *Labienus.*] Labienus seems to have expected that he, the ablest and oldest of all the generals of Caesar, would have some special rank assigned to him by Caesar, and to have deserted him in pique at his disappointment (Mommsen, vol. iv. p. 363). He survived Pharsalia, and perished at Munda.

*χρεῶν ἀποκοπάς.*] Tabulas novas.

*τὴν θεῶν.*] Eurip. *Phoen.* 516.

*Lucretino sole.*] A country house of Atticus in the neighbourhood of Mons Lucretilis.

2. *ἐνσχολάζω σοι.*] 'Tecum confabulando tempus fallo.' Sch.

3. *Consilium Pompeii.*] The fault of Pompey was not the abandonment of Rome, for to maintain himself there would have been hopeless. His real fault was his procrastination in providing himself with an army sufficient to arrest the advance of Caesar. The abandonment of Rome was not the less a political error; for it enabled Caesar to seize the reins of government and to obtain a constitutional sanction for all his acts.

*οὔτω που.*] *Iliad.* v. 520.

4. *Nescio an istic.*] I do not know whether the same feeling is prevalent where you are.

## Letter XLVIII.

L. Caesar had come from Rome from Caesar with fresh overtures for peace. These were that Caesar would even now disband his army, and become a candidate for the consulship, if Pompey would go to his pro-

vince. At a council of war held at Teanum Sidicinum (Jan. 23) Pompey replied that Caesar must first return to his province, and then his demands should be complied with. Cicero considers this to have been a *boná fide* acceptance of Caesar's proposals: but in reality it was the opposite.

About the same time Caesar had sent a message to Cicero through Trebatius, begging him to meet him at Rome: to which Cicero had contented himself with replying that he was staying on his country property. His intention was, he says, to convey his family to a place of safety, and then to join the cause of Pompey either in Italy or in Spain.

This letter was written early in February.

1. *Pueris.*] Young Cicero and his cousin.

*Hispaniam.*] Supposing that Pompey went there.

*Sexto.*] Peducaeo. He joined Caesar, who made him governor of Sardinia. 'They had little cause,' Cicero says, 'to thank Pompey for having left them and their property at Rome defenceless.'

2. *L. Caesar.*] Cousin of M. Antony. See *Dictionary of Biography.*

*Sestio.*] A man of contemptible ability. Hence σηστιωδέστερον, ineptius.

3. *Trebatius.*] See Introduction to Letter xxv.

*Pisonem.*] L. Caesoninus, the father-in-law of Caesar, against whom Cicero delivered his oration *In Pisonem.* During the Civil War he seems to have been neutral (see lxxv. 3). At a later period he made his noted attack on Antony at the session of the senate on the 1st of August, A.U.C. 710. See Introduction to Letter xcvii.

*Servium.*] Sulpicium. vii. 2.

*Dolabellam.*] xl. 10, xli. 5.

*Coelium.*] xxxvi. 1.

4. *Neque delectum . . . suscepisse.*] Cicero was too cautious to commit himself so far; and he purposely lets Caesar know that he is taking no active steps against him.

## Letter XLIX.

Cicero laments in this letter (written Feb. 9) the inactivity of Pompey. Caesar was now collecting his forces for the attack on Corfinium; and Pompey was hesitating whether he should attack him at once in Picenum. As for himself Cicero can determine on no plan. He does not even know where Pompey is.

1. *Quorum arbitrio.*] Antonius and Curio, from whom the worst was to be expected.

2. *Philotimo.*] xliv. 1, 9.

*Terentiam.*] He would send Terentia and Tullia to meet Atticus at Rome by the Ides.

## Letter L.

Cicero had received orders from Pompey to meet him in Apulia, and had set out on his journey, as we shall find in the next letter, on Feb. 17, but finding his road intercepted by the troops of Caesar, he returned to

Formiae, and writes this letter from Cales on his way, probably on Feb. 20. The tone of the two letters is very different, and justifies the condemnation which Abeken passes on Cicero's duplicity at this crisis. While he led Pompey to believe that he was exerting himself for him, we find from his letter to Atticus that he had no intention of committing himself against Caesar. In this letter he reviews the wrongs he had received from Pompey, attributing indeed to Pompey much for which he ought to have blamed himself. He expresses his doubts whether he ought to leave Italy with Pompey. At the close of his letter he mentions the siege of Corfinium, and blames Pompey for deserting Domitius. A report had gained ground, he says, that Afranius was coming from Spain with large reinforcements. Compare *Ad Att.* VIII. ii. 3.

2. *Sacerdotio.*] The augurate.

3. *Galliae ulterioris adjunctor.*] It was mainly owing to the influence of Pompey that the province of Gallia Ulterior was given to Caesar, in addition to that of Gallia Citerior.

*Provinciae propagator.*] The chief promoter of the decision that Caesar's province should be given him for a second term of five years. Introduction to Letter xxiv.

*Quod idem sanxit lege quadam sua.*] Although he had forbidden it by his own law. The law of Pompey was intended to forbid candidates competing for the consulship when absent from the city. This rendered nugatory the permission already given to Caesar. But when this was pointed out to Pompey, although his law was already engraved and placed among the records, he added to it a clause that his law was not intended to prejudice Caesar.

*M. Marcello.*] M. Marcellus proposed that Caesar's government should cease on Mar. 1. See Introduction to Letter xxxvi.

4. *Nulla causa.*] No policy.

*Capuam.*] xlvii. 5.

*Ordinum.*] Neither the senators nor the equites showed any sympathy for Pompey as a body, nor any indignation at Caesar's acts, and many of them joined Caesar.

5. *Luceriam.*] Where the head-quarters of Pompey now were.

*Populare.*] Because Cicero had always been unpopular among the commons since his consulship. See li. 7.

*Fasces . . . laureatos.*] Cicero, as a general claiming a triumph, was still attended by his lictors. He still hoped to gain his triumph.

6. *Philippus.*] Philippus, Flaccus, and Mucius, who remained in Rome when Cinna and Marius occupied the city after the greater part of the senators had fled to Sulla. Mucius Scaevola was killed by the order of Marius, on the eve of Sulla's approach to Rome. It is his death to which Cicero alludes in the words, 'quoquo modo ea res huic quidem cecidit.' He exposed himself to his fate rather than join Sulla in his attack on his country. Philippus waited at Rome for better times.

*Thrasybulus.*] Alluding to his expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants, B.C. 401. His case is quoted as that of one who yielded to circumstances, and took advantage of his opportunity when it came.

*Iidem fasces.*] I would gladly do the same, says Cicero, but I cannot return to Rome without dismissing my lictors, and thus abandoning my claim to a triumph.

*Sit enim nobis amicus.*] Caesar, if he was friendly to Cicero, would offer him his triumph, and he would not know whether to accept it or not.

7. *Ut Domitium relinquat.*] On abandoning the design of relieving Picenum, Pompey had sent orders to Domitius to bring all his forces to him in Apulia. But Domitius was persuaded that Pompey must come to his relief, and though badly prepared held out until his army revolted.

*Fausto.*] The son of L. Cornelius Sulla Felix, and son-in-law to Pompey, with whom he had served at the capture of Jerusalem. He perished in a mutiny, after the battle of Thapsus. B. C. 46.

*Afranium.*] He and Petreius were in command of Pompey's troops in Spain. They were defeated by Caesar in his first Spanish campaign in this year, B.C. 49. Afranius was at Pharsalia, and was killed after the battle of Thapsus.

*Trebonio.*] See Introd. to Letter xxiv. He ultimately joined the conspiracy against Caesar, and was put to death by Dolabella at Smyrna, B. C. 44. He was soon after this date left in charge of the siege of Massilia, while Caesar went into Spain.

*Fabium.*] This report was false. C. Fabius really succeeded in gaining the passes of the Pyrenees, before the Pompeians could reach them. Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* i. 35.

*Leptam.*] He had been Cicero's *praefectus fabrum* in his province.

*Ne quo inciderem.*] Ne in aliquos hostes inciderem (li. 4). *Reverti*, the epistolary perfect (compare xii. 3). Cicero was on his way back to Formiae.

## LETTER LI.

See the Introduction to Letter l. This letter is merely an explanation of the reasons which had prevented his joining Pompey; together with an apology for his conduct towards Caesar. Written Feb. 26.

1. *D. Laelio.*] He is mentioned by Cicero in his oration, *Pro Flacco*, cap. vi., as a friend of Pompey. See lxiv. 1.

*Tui consilii.*] Of Pompey's determination to collect his forces in Apulia (sect. 3).

2. *C. Messius.*] Note on xvii. 7. These rumours about Caesar were false, as were many which reached Cicero at this time (see l. 7).

3. *A. d. III. Kal. Mart.*] The day on which he is writing.

4. *Corfinii.*] The news of the surrender of Corfinium had now reached Cicero.

5. *Capuam rejiciebam.*] Compare l. 4, 'invite cepi Capuam.' He gives a plausible reason here for his reluctance to take charge of Campania. His real reason has been seen in xlviii. 4.

*Consilium tuum.*] Pompey's design of leaving Italy. Compare his words to Atticus (xlviii. 4, 5).

7. *Pacis conditiones.*] Compare xlviii. 2.

*Honorifice.*] In a previous letter to Atticus, Cicero says that Pompey, in his reply to Caesar, used the words, 'Pro tuis rebus gestis amplissimis,' as if, says Cicero, they were more splendid than his own (*Ad Att.* VIII. ix. 2). Compare Introduction to Letter xlviii.

*Si offendissem ejus animum.*] Caesaris. If he offended Caesar, whom

Pompey still treated with such respect, he feared that when the rivals were reconciled, Pompey would sacrifice him to Caesar, as he had previously abandoned him to Clodius. He insinuates this.

*Ut mea persona.*] Compare l. 5.

8. *Quam brevem.*] Quam brevissimam. For the very short time during which peace was possible, this was my reason for not coming to you. For the rest of the time, since war broke out, circumstances have prevented my coming.

## Letter LII.

Cicero contemplates retreat to Greece as soon as he can safely and secretly reach the Adriatic. He laments once more the impolitic and unmilitary conduct of Pompey, whose cause has now become unpopular even among his chief friends, while Caesar's moderate use of his great success at Corfinium had won the regard not only of the country towns, and the moneyed classes, but even of many of the optimates. The counter effect of this moderation in encouraging many to offer a passive resistance to Caesar is well shown by Mommsen, vol. iv. p. 380, &c. This letter was written on March 4; the very day on which the first half of Pompey's army left Brundisium, and immediately afterwards Caesar appeared before the town.

1. *Nec vero ille.*] Pompeius.

*Se venditant Caesari.*] See the Introduction on Caesar's popularity.

*De illo aegroto.*] Compare Juvenal's words:—

> 'Provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
> Optandas; *sed multae urbes et publica vota*
> Vicerunt.' *Sat.* x. 283–285.

Even at this time Pompey's health was bad, and Cicero laments over this in one of his letters to Atticus: 'In unius hominis, quotannis periculosè aegrotantis, anima positas omnes nostras spes habemus' (*Ad Att.* VIII. ii. 3). Lucan, in his famous contrast between the two leaders, dwells on Pompey's physical weakness:—

> 'Nec coiere pares: alter vergentibus annis
> In senium, longoque togae tranquillior usu,
> Dedidicit jam pace ducem.' *Pharsal.* i. 129–131.

*Pisistratus.*] Caesar had shown himself determined to act the part of a liberal and gentle tyrant. His enemies had expected nothing but cruelty. Compare Cicero's own words, 'Incertum est Phalarimnè an Pisistratum sit imitaturus.' *Ad Att.* VII. xx. 2.

*Judices DCCCL.*] This ought perhaps to be ccclx. Compare xxxvi. 5, note.

*Lucerias horrent.*] The threats issued by Pompey from Luceria. 'Nec tam direptio pertimescenda, quae Luceriae multis sermonibus denuntiata est, quam universae (*Italiae*) interitus.' (*Ad Att.* viii. 11.) In the same letter Cicero says of Pompey, 'Genus illud Sullani regni jampridem appetitur.'

*Qui me exturbent.*] Who want to drive me from Italy, and to force me to follow Pompey.

*Ad vastandum Italiam.*] See note above.

*Turpiter fugisset.*] As he did very shortly, on the 17th March.

## Letter LIII.

Cicero, after thanking Atticus for his letter, which had encouraged him not a little, discusses the effect on Italy of a victory of the Pompeians and foresees in Pompey's triumph nothing but general plunder and destruction. And yet rather than witness the overthrow of the constitution by Caesar, he will depart from Italy. This letter was written on the 15th March, while Caesar was still before Brundisium.

1. *Celeripes.*] A swift running messenger. *Salvius*, a libertus cf Atticus.

*τὸ συνέχον.*] What comes next to it.

*Hoc uno.*] Caesare.

2. *Sexto.*] *Peducaeo*, xlviii. 1.

*ἀπάντησις.*] Cicero will not go to meet Caesar at Rome; but he will await him at Formiae; that he may not be said to have avoided him.

3. *Πολίτευμα de pace.*] An attempt at mediation between Pompey and Caesar. For amid all the dangers which were threatening, it seemed best to compound by taking the most honourable course (*honestissimo depacisci*).

*Ne Pompeio.*] My only fear is that by attempting to make terms I shall throw the *onus* of refusing them upon Pompey, and thus incur his displeasure. The following line is quoted from *Odyss.* xi. 633.

*Sullani regni.*] Notes on the last letter. Pompey had always the name of Sulla on his lips, 'Sulla potuit; ego non potero?' (*Ad Att.* ix. 10.)

*Beneficium.*] Cicero was mainly indebted to Pompey for his recall from exile.

*Ut in Milone.*] Schütz doubts the genuineness of these words. It certainly seems strange that Cicero should call Milo's case a bad one.

5. *De triumpho.*] See L. 6.

*ὁ πλοῦς ὡραῖος obrepat.*] I am afraid that while I am wandering about, the latest possible time for sailing will be upon me before I expect it.

*De isto licet bene speres.*] What follows is an ironical attack on Pompey. Pompey's triumph, says Cicero, will be the signal for a general devastation of Italy, in which everything will be sacrificed to the wants of his needy followers. Therefore if I go from Italy it will not be to support Pompey in Greece (*ut illa adjuvem*), but rather to escape the sight of the miseries of my country (*ut haec ne videam*). It is clear from this that Cicero had not yet determined to join Pompey. He only wished to escape the troubles that threatened Italy.

*Horum insanias.*] The outrages of Caesar's party. Compare lix. 2, note.

6. *De Lentulo.*] Lentulus Spinther (see Letters xiv. xvi. xx. xxi. xxiii.). He had been captured by Caesar at Corfinium, and set at liberty. At this time Cicero was not sure of his fate, and had ordered his freedman Philotimus to enquire after him. For Philotimus, see xliv. 1, 9.

7. *Ut tibi ambulandum.*] Perhaps Atticus had made this an excuse for a short letter.

## Letter LIV.

Caesar had already sent more than one letter to Cicero, since his original message to him by Trebatius (xlviii. 3.) See Abeken, p. 293. This letter was written during his hurried march to Brundisium.

*Furnium.*] Furnius, a friend of Cicero's, had been tribune the preceding year (xl. 11).

*Praemissis jam legionibus.*] To Brundisium.

*Gratiasque agerem.*] For remaining neutral.

*Ad urbem.*] Not *into* the city, for neither Caesar nor Cicero, being with *imperium*, could loyally enter the city, without laying down his *imperium*.

*Consilio.*] This and the following terms are explained by Cicero himself in a letter to Atticus: *consilio*, as a mere general term; *gratia*, as intended to bespeak Cicero's influence in the senate; *dignitate*, the assistance of his support as a *consularis*; *ope*, his assistance in procuring Caesar's election to the consulate (*Att.* ix. 9).

## Letter LV.

Cicero replies to Caesar that he is willing to use all his efforts to procure peace, offers his mediation between Caesar and Pompey, recalling his attachment to them both, and again thanks him for his treatment of Lentulus. It appears from a letter written to Atticus on Feb. 25 (*Ad Att.* viii. 9), that a letter resembling this in language had been published; but Schütz supposes that the commencement of that letter is out of place, and that this is the epistle referred to. The letter was written March 18.

1. *Ad urbem.*] See the last letter. We see here that he gives Caesar's expressions a different meaning from that which he had attributed to them in his letter to Atticus (ix. 9).

2. *Quum primum potui.*] After my return from Cilicia.

*Cujus honorem.*] Ut absentis ratio haberetur. Compare xliv. 4, and Introduction to xliii.

3. *Maximi beneficii.*] liii. 3.

*Me . . . conservari.*] Cicero urges Caesar not to force him to declare himself against Pompey, but to allow him to remain the friend of them both; for by this friendly neutrality he would be best able to promote their reconciliation and the peace of Rome.

*Qui mihi fuerat.*] Lentulus had, as consul, strongly supported Cicero's recall from exile. (Letters xiv. xvi.)

## Letter LVI.

Caesar was now on his way from Brundisium to Rome, and stopped at Formiae, probably on the 28th of March, and this letter gives an account of his interview (well given by Abeken, p. 297), which terminated without any important result. This letter was probably written March 29.

1. *Ne ad urbem.*] See liv. 1. Cicero had carried both his objects: 1. Not to alienate Caesar; 2. To remain absent from Rome.

*Dissimilem . . . causam.*] They were not bound to Pompey as Cicero was.

*Summa fuit ut ille.*] Supply a me peteret.

2. Νεκυία.] Cicero contemptuously designates Caesar's followers as a 'hellish band,' a desperate crew, in allusion to the ghosts of the dead who thronged round Ulysses. *Odyss.* xi. 35-47.

*Sex legiones.*] Supply *habet.* These were the troops, with their Gallic auxiliaries, with which Caesar had besieged Brundisium.

3. Κατακλείς.] The conclusion of our conversation.

*Pedanum.*] Pedum, a Latin town on the Via Lavicana.

Λαλαγεῦσαν.] The 'twittering' swallow, the harbinger of spring, and of fair weather for Cicero's voyage. Another reading is πλαταγεῦσαν, sc. *epistolam*, explained to mean 'A letter from Atticus which should serve as an oracle to Cicero, in allusion to the omens drawn from the poppy petal πλαταγώνιον. Theocr. iii. 29. But this is forced.

## Letter LVII.

From Arpinum Cicero writes to inform Atticus of his determination to leave Italy and seek concealment in Aegypt. Written March 31.

1. *Arpini potissimum.*] He chose Arpinum in preference to any other place, as his own native place, to pay a compliment to his countrymen.

*Vidi . . . universos.*] Compare lvi. 2. Compare his language concerning Pompey and his followers in Letter liii. 3–5.

2. *Hunc inimicum.*] Caesarem.

*In Volcatii sententiam.*] Volcatius, a consular (xx. 3), proposed a fresh embassy with proposals for peace.

*Servius.*] Servius Sulpicius Rufus, consul two years before. His son, as well as the son of Titinius, a Roman knight, a friend of Atticus, accompanied Caesar to Brundisium, probably as hostages for their parents. Servius urged Caesar to abandon the idea of carrying on the war in Greece and Spain, and the senate generally were with him. See lvi. 1.

3. *Mare infestum habebimus.*] We, patriots as we are, shall be obliged to hold the sea in a state of hostility to our country, by blockading Italy. The very policy he had blamed in liii. 4.

*Cephalioni.*] A *tabellarius* of Atticus.

## Letter LVIII.

Cicero's attitude had given rise to a general rumour that he was about to abandon Italy and to throw himself into the arms of Pompey. This led to Caelius writing in the strongest terms to dissuade him from such a step, to whom Cicero replies in the present letter, in which he endeavours to assure him that he has no object but to remain neutral in the war, and denies all intention of leaving Italy.

1. *Ex meis superioribus literis.*] This letter is not preserved. The letter of Caelius referred to is *Ad Fam.* viii. 16.

*Florentissimi hominis.*] Caesaris.

2. *Cujus tu similem quondam habebas.*] In allusion to the tribunate of Caelius, in which he was on the side of the optimates. See xxxvi. 1.

*Lictorum.*] See L. 5. Cicero having once claimed a triumph could not lay aside his insignia of imperator without some discredit; and this was now an embarrassment to him. And for fear it should prove so to his friends also, he kept himself in retirement.

*In maritimis.*] Praediolis. *Facillime,* libentissime.

*Ab eo.*] On his side.

3. *Obviam venisti.*] As Cicero was returning from Cilicia.

*T. Ampii.*] Balbi, tribune of the plebs, B.C. 68. He was governor of Cilicia 58. An active partisan of Pompey, he was called by Caesar's party 'tuba belli civilis' (lxxvii. 3). He was afterwards pardoned by Caesar on Cicero's intercession. See Letter lxxvii.

*Q. Hortensium.*] He kept aloof from both parties during the contest between Sulla and Marius. He had died in the preceding year. (*Att.* vi. 6.)

4. *Istis ipsis.*] The words of Caelius's letter are, 'Etiam atque etiam, Cicero, cogita, ne te tuosque omnes funditus evertas' (*Fam.* viii. 16). A threat of this kind is contained in Antony's letter (lix.).

5. *Specula.*] Spe.

*Dolabella.*] See xl. 10. Cicero hoped that Dolabella would be able, by Caesar's liberality, to clear himself of the debts which he had contracted by his extravagance, here called by the mild term of 'liberalitas,' on account of which he was now much harassed by his creditors. After his return to Rome, on Pompey's defeat, being again pressed by his creditors, he had himself adopted into the plebeian family of the Lentuli, and in B.C. 48, as tribune of the plebs, brought forward a bill for 'tabulae novae.' (*Ad Att.* xi. 23.)

6. *Hispaniensem casum.*] Caelius had begged Cicero to wait and see the result of the war in Spain, in which Caesar was certain to be victorious. See the following letter.

*Vaticinor.*] Perhaps I am dreaming. Perhaps I am foolish.

7. *Oppio.*] One of Caesar's most intimate friends, as was also Curtius. Some magistracy was designed for them. What office Oppius was to hold we are not told. Curtius wished to get the augurate, with its purple cloak. (For *dibaphum* comp. viii. 2.) The 'dyer' is Caesar, from whom Curtius hoped to obtain the place in the 'collegium,' vacant by the death of Hortensius.

*Videas.*] Provideas.

## LETTER LIX.

From Arpinum Cicero went to his villa near Cumae, where he resided till he left Italy. In this letter (May 2) he argues against the necessity of waiting the event of the Spanish campaign. He inveighs against Caesar and his associates; and augurs Caesar's speedy fall from his growing unpopularity. As for himself he waits only the opportunity for sailing. He adds two letters from Antony and Caesar, urging him not to leave Italy.

1. *Quid in Hispania geratur.*] See lviii. 6.

2. *Curionem.*] Although he was Caesar's greatest supporter. See xxxvi. 5, xliii.

*Nam caedem video.*] Compare liii. 5, for a similar sketch of the probable results of Caesar's victory, and of Pompey's.

3. *Indignitas.*] Indignatio, as in Livy, v. 45: 'Inde primum miseratio sui, deinde indignitas atque ex ea ira animos cepit.'

*Gabinio.*] See xxviii. 20. Exiled for his conduct in the affair of Ptolemy, he was soon after this time (as Cicero apprehends) recalled by Caesar, and sent by him to Illyricum, where he died the following year.

*Clodium.*] Sextus Clodius, a tool of Clodius, and leader of his armed followers. Exiled, on a charge *De Vi*, and still in exile. He was afterwards recalled by M. Antonius. See lxxxviii. 6.

*C. Ateii Plaguleium.*] Both these are unknown.

*Nec videre . . . sine dolore.*] I must grieve that they are thus unconstitutionally recalled; and should disgrace myself if I sanctioned such a recall by my presence.

4. *Per se.*] He was contented to leave Spain to his legati.

*Invalidi et absentis.*] After supporting all that Caesar could do against me, while he was still in Gaul, shall I not do so now that I have Pompey and the other optimates with me? I have followed Schütz's text. The MSS. are hopelessly corrupt; and it is difficult, with any reading, to give a good sense to the passage.

5. *Ab illis est periculum.*] If I remain here I incur the anger of the Pompeians; if I go, of Caesar.

*Extat ratio dierum.*] See Letter li. 4.

*Iratum mihi Caesarem esse.*] See Letter li. 7.

6. *Appio.*] Appius Claudius, censor (xliii. 4). He wrote a work on the 'Augural Discipline,' which he dedicated to Cicero. Some books read *Attio*, referring to Attius Navius.

*Nullo enim modo.*] The opposition of the constitutional party forced Caesar, in the matter of the public treasury, and the violation of the person of the tribune Lucius Metellus, to appeal to force, to supply the necessities of his troops, although he risked by it the character which he had hitherto maintained of moderation and disinterestedness. Caesar stayed in Rome only six or seven days on his way to Spain.

7. *Feram.*] If I am mistaken, and Caesar's tyranny lasts, I shall have to suffer as manfully as I can, and in that respect I shall only share in the errors, and fate, of Themistocles, the wisest of statesmen.

*Thucydides.*] Thuc. i. 138.

*Africano.*] See Letter xxi. 3.

*C. Mario.*] The fatal day of his expulsion from Rome.

8. *Quos contra.*] 'Dent operam consules . . . . consulares (of whom Cicero was one) ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat.' *Bell. Civ.* i. 4.

*Domesticas tricas.*] The embarrassments of her husband, Dolabella. See lviii. 5.

*Sit στοργή.*] Great as is her affection for me, and our sympathy.

*Melitae me velit esse.*] I must beg Antony as well as Curio to let me live at Malta.

LETTER OF ANTONY.

*Quum tanti facias.*] Compare lviii. 4, 5.

Ζηλοτυπίᾳ.] They had been rival candidates for the augurate.

2. *Ejus . . . qui . . . injuriam fecit.*] Pompey could have prevented Cicero's banishment. (Introduction to Letter xii.) He afterwards promoted his recall (*beneficium*).

*Etsi non amabit.*] Even supposing he should not be your friend,—which, however, is impossible.

*Calpurnium.*] L. Calpurnius Piso.

### Letter of Caesar.

*Proclinata jam re.*] Now that Pompey's cause is all but ruined. We find from another letter of Cicero to Atticus, written on the same day as this letter, that Antony had orders from Caesar to keep every one in Italy. 'Partes mihi,' writes Antony, 'Caesar has imposuit ne quem omnino discedere ex Italia paterer... Ad Caesarem mittas, censeo, et ab eo hoc petas.' (*Ad Att.* x. 10.)

### Letter LX.

Caesar had sent the ablest of his supporters, C. Curio, to take possession of the important corn-provinces of Sicily and Africa, with C. Caninius Rebilus, afterwards consul (lxxxv.). Cato, desirous to spare the country the consequence of a useless resistance, left Sicily without striking a blow. Cicero in condemning Cato spoke without good grounds. Cato left Sicily April 23. This letter was written May 14.

1. *Dionysius.*] xxx. 3. He had refused to accompany Cicero into Greece.

*Quod quia ... praeciderat.*] Recusaverat. Compare *Att.* viii. 4, where he is speaking of Dionysius's contemptuous refusal. 'Plane sine ulla exceptione praecidit.'

3. *Cato.*] See Introduction.

*Cotta.*] Quintus Valerius easily got possession of the island.

4. *Centuriones.*] The patricians who thronged the watering places of Campania were ready to listen to any reports, however groundless, as we have seen before (l. 7), and seem to have hoped that Caesar's soldiers would join them. Cicero suspected treachery, and wisely declined to commit himself by leaving his villa during the night.

*Cogitavi... Caeliana.*] This Caelius, together with Carbo, collected an army in the south of Italy to oppose Sulla, who soon destroyed him. Cicero evidently amused himself for a few days with the idea that he might now do something of the kind, 'fortuna velim meliori, animo Caeliano.' (*Att.* x. 12.) We find it alluded to in the three preceeding letters to Atticus. So here; this might, he says, be an opportunity for playing the part of Caelius.

5. *Hortensius.*] Son of the orator (lviii. 3). Cicero treated him kindly for his father's sake (*Att.* vi. 3); but he disgraced himself by his conduct at Laodicea. See xcvi. 1.

*Collega.*] As an augur.

*Cujus inter lictores.*] Antony was now on circuit through Italy, and outraged every one by his unblushing profligacy. Compare *Att.* x. 10; *Philipp.* ii. 23 (57).

## Letter LXI.

Cicero embarked at Brundisium on June 7. We know little of him for the year now following. The anecdotes connected with his presence in the camp are well known. See Middleton, vol. ii. p. 107. From this letter we gather, what is confirmed by other authorities, that he suffered much at this time from ill-health and despondency. Written July 15.

1. *Isidoro.*] A *libertus* of Atticus.

*Frusinati.*] A property which he had sold under the condition of repurchase.

*Hic tua . . . tueor.*] For Atticus's property was now in the hands of the Pompeians.

*Celer.*] Some *libertus* who accompanied Isidorus.

2. *Quid sit gestum.*] Cicero probably alludes to the series of operations near Dyrrhachium, which were generally favourable to Pompey. 'Caesar,' says Mommsen, 'was entirely beaten not merely in tactics, but in strategy, and it seemed as if he could neither maintain himself in his present position, nor judiciously change it.' Vol. iv. (ch. x.), p. 410.

*Ero una cum eo.*] Pompey must now have left Dyrrhachium in pursuit of Caesar. Cicero had remained on the plea of ill-health.

*Pensione altera.*] The payment to Dolabella of a second instalment of the dowry of Tullia. A matter which gave Cicero much anxiety. (Abeken, p. 306.)

---

## Eighth Division of Letters.

## FROM PHARSALIA TO THE DEATH OF CÆSAR.

## Letters LXII.–LXXXV.

The letters of this period show in a very striking manner the personal influence which Caesar exerted over all with whom he came in contact. In the earlier part of this correspondence, we find Cicero in a state of great despondency. He hopes and yet dreads the possible success of the Pompeians in Africa. (lxiii. lxiv.) He is alarmed at the calumnies which his brother Quintus had addressed to Caesar concerning him (lxii. lxvii.). He tries to vindicate his previous conduct (lxii.), while he laments his folly (lxiv. lxv.), and at the same time intercedes with Caesar for Quintus (lxiii.) who obtains his pardon (lxvi.). He consoles himself by writing a panegyric on Cato (lxix.). His intimacy with Caesar's friends is still a thing to be apologised for (lxx.), and he remains at Rome solely to avoid their suspicions (lxviii.). After a time his tone changes. He determines to welcome Caesar on his return from Africa (lxxi.); and shortly afterwards we find him boasting his intimacy with the Caesarians and the goodwill of Caesar, and his own personal influence with him (lxxii. lxxix), which he exerts for his friend Marcellus (lxxiv. lxxv.), in whose case he praises Caesar's magnanimity (lxxvi.), and for Balbus (lxxvii.). At the same time he stands aloof from public

affairs and determines to be a mere Epicurean like his friend Paetus (lxxiii.), though he apologises to Caesar for his inactivity (lxxx.). He introduces to Caesar his friends in terms which show their good relations (lxxx. lxxxi.), and though he had thought of tendering his advice, he withdraws the treatise which he had written for that purpose (lxxxiii.). His account of Caesar's visit shows that after all he was not at his ease with the conqueror (lxxxiv.), and the last letter of this series, in which he mentions the consulship of Caninius, exhibits as freshly as ever his discontent with the existing order of things (lxxxv.). The death of Marcellus (lxxxii.) is introduced as a remarkable termination to the career of one of Caesar's most determined and unforgiving enemies.

## Letter LXII.

After the battle of Pharsalia Cicero had crossed over to Brundisium. His letters at this period are full of self-reproaches and excuses for his previous conduct. His doubts of the feeling of Caesar towards him and his fear of Antony kept him at a distance from Rome. In this letter he attempts to vindicate his previous conduct. He was much grieved at the conduct of his brother Quintus, who was acting towards him with the greatest baseness, attempting in every way to prejudice him with Caesar. The position of Tullia, too, was a source of great anxiety to him.

Caesar was now dictator. M. Antonius, master of the horse.

This letter was written Jan. 4, A.U.C. 707.

1. *Exceptionibus edictorum.*] Antonius had published an edict forbidding any of the Pompeians from landing in Italy. They were required to make their submission to Caesar at Alexandria. An exception was made in the cases of Cicero and Laelius. Cicero was allowed to remain at Brundisium, but not to proceed further.

*Ante initum tribunatum.*] For the new tribunes might seek to hinder his movements. *Nihil juvat.* Merely to be at Brundisium was no advantage. He wanted to be at Rome.

*Ab eo.*] Antonio.

*Balbi.*] Nephew of L. Cornelius Balbus, mentioned in Letters xxv. 2, xlv. 2.

*Ad illum.*] Ad Caesarem.

2. *Ex quibus unus.*] His brother Quintus.

*Ex ipsius literis.*] These were full of gross calumnies against Cicero. See Abeken, p. 321. The evident unconsciousness of Cicero of any immorality in thus tampering with his brother's correspondence is curious.

*Vatinio.*] See viii. 2, xxvii. 3.

*Ligurio.*] A friend of Caesar's.

*Favisse.*] Quintus Cicero had been *legatus* to Caesar in Gaul. See Introduction to Letter xxvi.

*Quae si putabis.*] If Atticus thought that these letters would not injure Quintus, he was to have them delivered, after resealing them with Quintus's seal, which was in the hands of Pomponia, Atticus's sister, wife of Quintus.

*Initio navigationis.*] Cicero and his brother had left Greece together; Quintus had afterwards gone to Asia.

3. *Istam miseram.*] Tulliam. She was shortly after this divorced

from Dolabella. Cicero feared that his own property and his wife's would be confiscated. Atticus was to reconcile her to her uncle.

*Si me non offendes.*] Sc. vivum.

## Letter LXIII.

Cicero, hearing that Caesar regarded his brother Quintus as having urged him to adopt the cause of Pompey, wrote to intercede for him. He encloses a copy of his letter to Atticus. He still indulges in hopes that the Pompeians would win in the contest now impending in Africa. For his part he would rather see some compromise: for he dreaded the return of the Pompeians, if victorious, almost as much as he feared Antony. This letter was written March 8.

1. *Cephalio.*] See lvii. 3.

*Balbo Cornelio minore.*] See lxii. 1.

*Lituum meae profectionis fuisse.*] That Quintus had sounded the trumpet for my departure into Greece.

*Praesens.*] Compare lxii. 3, 'Initio navigationis.'

3. *Longe aliter esse intelligo.*] So far from being likely to make terms with Caesar, Cicero expected that the Pompeians would be the victors, and the Spanish troops under Cn. Pompeius join the troops in Africa.

4. *Praeclaras generi actiones.*] Dolabella (see lviii. 5). Cicero alludes to the rogations of Dolabella, and the disturbances which they provoked at Rome. Antonius did not venture to punish the tribune; but Caesar, immediately on his return to Rome, removed him from the city.

*Galeonis.*] He had made Cicero his sole heir. For *Crevi*, compare xl. 10. *Cretio simplex*, without any other legatees. No one else had sent Cicero notice that he intended to enter his claim. See Ramsay, *Roman Antiquities*, p. 262.

## Letter LXIV.

Cicero complains of his detention at Brundisium, and laments his crowning folly (in which he had no companion but Laelius) of having returned to Italy and thus abandoned his party. From Caesar he hoped nothing; nor from Pompey's party; for he considers his offence against them unpardonable.

This letter was written May 14.

1. *Ille.*] Caesar.

*Ex Africa.*] See lxiii. 3.

*Achaei.*] The Pompeians who had retired to Greece, and thence had gone to Asia to make peace with Caesar. Cicero expected them to join the African army.

*Aut cum altero.*] Laelio. He had commanded the eastern fleet of Pompey. Cicero could neither rejoin the Pompeians (*illos*); nor had he any hopes from Caesar's party (*ab his ipsis*).

2. *Scripsi ad te antea.*] This letter is lost.

*Quintus.*] Introduction to lxii.

*Peccati.*] My error in having returned to Italy.

*Non veniunt in dubium.*] 'Others who have been captured by Caesar,

will not be suspected of voluntarily deserting their party, particularly if they can manage to escape and join the army in Africa. Those too who have submitted can be blamed only for timidity.' He and Laelius could never be forgiven by their party.

*Fufium.*] Q. Fufius Calenus, governor of Achaia.

*C. Cassium.*] See xxxi. 1. He was with Pompey till his defeat at Pharsalia, and owed his life afterwards to Caesar's clemency. He seems from the following letter to have joined Caesar in Asia.

3. *Aesopi filius.*] Son of the great actor (xi. 14), notorious for his luxury and dissipation. See the story of the pearl in Horace, *Sat.* II. iii. 239. His intimacy with Dolabella is what Cicero here alludes to as an additional annoyance to him.

4. *Fufidianis.*] A property which had come to him probably from one Fufidius. There seems to have been some difficulty about dividing it into equal parts. This might have been disposed of by selling the whole by auction; and then dividing it. But the coheirs were afraid that Cicero's property would be confiscated, and therefore they wished to keep the property intact.

## Letter LXV.

Cicero was still at Brundisium, expecting the return of Caesar, with whom Cassius appears now to have been (lxiv. 2). Caesar had captured Alexandria on the 27th March, and was now engaged in his operations against Pharnaces, which were ended on the 2nd August by the decisive battle of Zela. Cicero and Cassius had hitherto been alike in their conduct. Now he considers Cassius more fortunate than himself in having secured the favour of the conqueror, while he is still doubtful of his fate. The date of this letter is uncertain; but it was probably written during the month of August, and before the news of Caesar's victory over Pharnaces was received.

1. *Uterque nostrum.*] Both had retired from the war after the battle of Pharsalia.

2. *Quam cognovit Asia.*] Which the Pompeians experienced who surrendered to Caesar in Asia. The other proper names are to be taken in the same sense.

*Te ... ipso allegato.*] The Pompeians in Achaia were pardoned by Caesar, principally by the intercession of Cassius. *Allegato*, 'sent as a mediator.' There is a various reading *legato*. For another sense of *allegatus*, see xxi. 5.

*Alexandrini belli.*] See Mommsen, vol. iv. ch. x. pp. 423-431.

*Pharnacem.*] Mommsen, vol. iv. ch. x. pp. 432, 433.

3. *Currentem ... incitarem.*] Compare 'Quanquam ille non eguit consilio cujusquam, sed tamen currentem, ut dicitur, incitavi.'—*Phil.* III. viii. 19.

*Urbis ... querelis.*] In allusion to the tumults occasioned by Dolabella (lxiii. 4), the slaughter of 800 men in Rome by Antony's soldiers, and the mutiny in Campania. Compare *Phil.* II. 25.

*Primis illis.*] Cassius had written from Pompey's camp at Luceria, advising Cicero, it appears, to remain in Italy.

## Letter LXVI.

Cicero informs Atticus that Caesar has pardoned his brother Quintus. Written Aug. 17.

1. *C. Trebonius.*] Note on L. 7.

2. *Notionem ejus differri.*] Notio, *cognitio.* Caesar now pardons every one alike. Probably because he has not time to inquire into each particular case. This is in itself suspicious, and makes one think that he is only postponing the investigation.

*M. Gallius.*] Gallius, a friend of Antony, had taken possession of the property of Sallust; and now, on his pardon, had to restore it. For Sallust, see xxix. 1. Gallius was a tribune in Caesar's army.

## Letter LXVII.

This letter was written about Sept. 1. Even at this date Cicero had not heard of Caesar's victory over Pharnaces, although he was expecting his immediate arrival, and asks Atticus to advise him whether he shall stay at Brundisium or go to meet Caesar. Caesar soon after this landed at Tarentum, whither Cicero repaired to meet him. Caesar received him very kindly; and shortly afterwards Cicero repaired to Rome. In the early part of the letter he alludes to the calumniating letters which his brother Quintus had written concerning him to Caesar. (lxii. 2.) These letters Caesar had sent to Oppius and Balbus. By them they had been sent to Atticus, who conveyed them to Cicero. Cicero interpreted Caesar's act as intended to annoy him by a spiteful publication of his calamities.

1. *Epistolas illas.*] The letters of Quintus.

*Ad istos.*] Balbus and Oppius.

*Ne illi obsint.*] That they would injure Quintus with Caesar. Compare lxii. 2.

*Illas impetrationes nostras.*] That the pardon which I have gained from Caesar is so little good to me.

2. *Sulla.*] Nephew of the dictator. He was now a legatus of Caesar. He and Messala had been sent to take to Sicily the legions now quartered in Campania. (See Mommsen, vol. iv. ch. x. p. 440.) They were driven away by the soldiers, as Sallustius was soon after.

*Nisi acceperint.*] Until their promised presents have been paid.

*Ille huc veniet.*] Caesar, who was proceeding leisurely, stopping some days at each town, receiving embassies and holding courts.

*De testamento.*] Cicero was anxious that his wife Terentia should make a will, because Tullia was dependent upon her mother. At this time Terentia was acting questionably with regard to Cicero's property. See Abeken, p. 323.

## Letter LXVIII.

The battle of Thapsus was fought 6th April, 708, according to the old reckoning, and news had now reached Rome of Caesar's success. During the Spanish war, Varro had commanded in Hispania Ulterior, but after the surrender of Afranius and Petreius, he was overtaken by

Caesar and surrendered at discretion. *Bell. Civ.* ii. 16–19. After this event he spent his life in retirement. (See xiv. 1.) Cicero explains to Varro his reasons for remaining at Rome. He would gladly join Varro in his retreat, but remains, to avoid ill-natured suspicion.

This year, commonly called the year of confusion, was the last of the old reckoning. The true time was anticipated by sixty-seven days. Thus the real date of the battle of Thapsus would be Feb. 5. Caesar rectified this by intercalating two months between November and December. The old New Year's Day (Mar. 1) was abolished; and with the following year, the 1st of January became the beginning of the civil, as it had been previously of the official year.

1. *Caninius.*] See xxiii. 3, xxiv. 4.

Ἕωλος.] Obsoleta.

*Lucubrationem.*] Nocturnam operam. Cicero, following the ordinary custom of the Romans, probably wrote very early in the morning by candlelight. Cf. Hor. *Ep.* I. ii. 35: 'Posces ante diem librum cum lumine.'

*Tantis . . . allatis.*] The news of the battle of Thapsus.

2. *Omnia, credo, vidisti.*] Ironically.

3. *Calumniabar.*] I torment myself with fancied accusations.

4. *Haec gratulatio.*] On account of Caesar's African victories.

5. *Si quis adhibere volet.*] In case my services should be required on the trial of any of my friends. This promise he nobly redeemed in his defence of Ligarius before Caesar.

*Navare rem publicam.*] Adjuvare.

## Letter LXIX.

From Rome Cicero went for a short time to Tusculum, where, among other friends, he had expected to see Atticus, who, however, had been hindered from coming by a slight attack of fever. The letter is occupied with a notice of his proposed panegyric on Cato, which was shortly after written. Cæsar did not show any open annoyance at it, but commissioned Hirtius to write a reply to it, of which Cicero speaks as complimentary to himself, while it was unfair to Cato. (*Att.* xii. 40.) Brutus also wrote a book on the same subject; but he fell into some historical errors. (*Att.* xii. 21.) This letter was written some time during June.

1. *Dies festus.*] The day on which he expected the arrival of Atticus.

ἐνερευθέστερον.] Rather feverish.

*Unum diem.*] Atticus had put off his visit for one day longer.

2. πρόβλημα.] As difficult a problem as any of Archimedes.

*Tui convivae.*] Such as Balbus, Hirtius, and others of Caesar's friends.

*Nisi haec ornata sint.*] Cicero's work was very flattering to the character of Cato. Tacitus alludes to it in the defence of Cremutius Cordus: 'Marci Ciceronis libro, quo Catonem caelo aequavit, quid aliud dictator Cæsar quam rescripta oratione, velut apud judices, respondit?' (*Ann.* iv. 34.) The answer of Caesar went by the name of 'Anticato.'

*Aledio.*] One of Caesar's friends, otherwise unknown.

## Letter LXX.

For Varro, see Introduction to Letter lxviii. Cicero writes to inform him that Caesar's arrival is expected. He excuses himself for his intimacy with Caesar's friends, and wishes that he could imitate Varro in his seclusion and devotion to letters. This letter was written from Rome during the month of June. Caesar arrived at Rome the 11th July, old reckoning. See the Table of Chronology at Letter xlvii.

1. *Caninius.*] See lxviii. 1.

*Alsiense.*] Alsium, on the coast of Etruria.

2. *Utrobique.*] It would be Varro's interest to meet Caesar immediately on his arrival; and therefore Cicero advises him to get ready a house in which he could receive Caesar both at Ostia and at Alsium.

*Haec in voluntate fuerunt.*] For all this depended on the will of Caesar. Compare 'Quod positum est in alterius voluntate,' lxxii. 3. The rest was determined by circumstances, *necessaria.*

*Nam tu aberas.*] Varro was then in Spain.

3. *Etiam illorum timebam.*] For Cicero's fears for Italy in the event of Pompey's victory, compare Letter liii. 4.

*Bestiarum.*] The elephants of King Juba. *Bell. Afr.* lxxi. lxxii.

4. *Tusculanenses.*] Varro was now at Tusculum. In the preceding sentence, 'actis' means 'private transactions,' especially the meetings of friends, and the conversations held at these meetings (see lxxii. 4), in opposition to the 'usus' of literature which Varro practised. Others have supposed 'actae' to mean 'seaside places,' as in Cicero's speech *Pro Caelio*, xv. 35; but that sense does not suit here.

5. *Nostris studiis.*] In this year Cicero wrote the *Brutus*, the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, and *Paradoxa*. See Table.

*Cur non abutamur.*] Why should I not indulge to the full in my favourite pursuits, now that the state has no need of me?

## Letter LXXI.

Cicero writes, still early in June, announcing his intention to leave Rome. The death of L. Caesar had alarmed him; for he saw in it the commencement of a series of proscriptions. As yet he does not know where or when Caesar will land, or which route he will take on his journey home; but at all events he wishes to meet him, and in company with Varro.

1. *Seium.*] A friend of Cicero and Atticus.

*Maturum videtur.*] I am now fully determined to go to meet Caesar.

*Nam quod antea.*] See lxviii. 3. In what I said before I was merely cunningly hiding my real design, as I will now show you.

*Si quid bonae salutis.*] If news came of the victory of our party.

Σύν τε δυ' ἐρχομένω.] The quotation is from *Iliad* x. 224, where Diomede asks for a companion in his night expedition:—

> *Σύν τε δυ' ἐρχομένω, καί τε πρὸ ὁ τοῦ ἐνόησεν,*
> *Ὅππως κέρδος ἔῃ.*

*Quid hic mihi faciet patri?*] *Andria*, I. i. 85. For L. Caesar see xlviii.

and *Dict. of Biography*. Caesar had no hand in L. Caesar's death, which occurred in a military tumult.

2. *Africa.*] A verse of Ennius.

*ἀποπροηγμένον.*] The Stoics confined the word *κακόν* to vice, other evils being 'rejicienda,' mere 'incommoda.' So goods were divided into *ἀγαθὰ* and *προηγμένα*, 'proferenda.'

*Qua.*] Caesar actually came by way of Sardinia. He had a long and dangerous voyage thence to Rome of twenty-eight days. See *Bell. Afr.* xcviii. Some supposed, it appears, that he would come direct to Baiae. Sardinia is called ironically Caesar's *praedium*, as if he were the owner of all the provinces.

*Deterius.*] See Letter xxi. 7.

*Dolabella.*] He had been employed in the African War, and had left Africa before Caesar. The following words, 'Eum puto magistrum fore,' are obscure. They may either mean, 1. He will be able to teach us what to expect, and how to make peace with Caesar. He is more influential now than I am, although he is my scholar. Cicero at this time was employing himself in giving lessons in oratory, 'ut Dionysius tyrannus' (*Div.* ix. 18), and among his pupils were Dolabella, Hirtius, and others, (lxxii. 7). 2. He will be Caesar's *magister auctionis* (note on i. 3) in his forthcoming proscription. Compare, of Sulla's proscriptions, Cicero's expression, 'Hastam illam cruentam . . . . quam P. Sulla cum vibrasset,' *De Off.* ii. 8. The Iambic line is from some unknown poet, and if we adopt this explanation, will mean that Dolabella outstrips his master in violence. There is very probably some fault in the text. Schütz gives a MSS. reading, *Ei me puto magistrum fore*, 'I believe he is going to be one of my scholars.'

## Letter LXXII.

This letter was written to Paetus, an Epicurean friend of Cicero's and Atticus (see vi. 12), of considerable humour and large means. The occasion of this letter seems to have been, that Paetus, or Silius, was afraid that Cicero would annoy Caesar by too plain a mode of speaking, or by his jokes. In reply Cicero assures Paetus that he is on terms of the warmest friendship with Caesar's friends; and 'as for Caesar himself,' Cicero adds, 'he has too much magnanimity to be offended at what I really do say, which is duly reported to him, and too much good taste to attribute to me what I do not say.' He consoles himself by the example of many great men who have been obliged to submit to compromises during the ascendency of tyrants. He concludes by replying to some jokes or puns of Paetus. The letter was written during July.

1. *Silius.*] He had been propraetor of Bithynia (see xl. 13). He probably had announced Caesar's arrival.

*Eodem exemplo.*] On the same subject.

2. *Quasi aurum igni.*] An often repeated simile, well put by Ovid:—

> 'Scilicet ut fulvum spectatur in ignibus aurum,
> Tempore sic duro est inspicienda fides.'—*Trist.* I. v. 25.

*Diligi.*] According to his previous distinction between the words, he should have said *amari*. Compare xc. 5.

4. *Servius.*] Servius Claudius cousin (*frater*), of Paetus, had been a great scholar. Paetus inherited his library and had given it to Cicero. (vi. 12.) He died A.U.C. 693.

*ἀποφθεγμάτων.*] These survived Caesar, but Augustus forbad their publication.

*Actis.*] Occurrences of the day; news of the city. Incidents at the social meeting of Caesar's friends. Cf. lxx. 4.

*Oenomao.*] The Oenomaus was a tragedy of Accius, from which Paetus seems to have quoted a simile, fortifying Cicero against the attacks of envy (see sect. 6), a lesson which he says he does not want, though he allows it to be aptly quoted.

*Nihil esse sapientis.*] The wise man is answerable for his faults only.

6. *Monumenta.*] Compare xxii. 1.: 'Ut cuperem . . . monumentis commendari tuis.'

7. *Secundum Oenomaum.*] After your quotation from Oenomaus, you have introduced, not, as was once the custom, a Fabula Atellana, but a Mime, as we do now (see Letter xxiv). Cicero seems to mean that his jokes were coarse and broad.

*Quem tu mihi.*] How can I eat such common stuff, bought for a mere denarius, now that I am taking lessons in good living from my rhetorical pupils Dolabella and Hirtius?

*Bonam copiam.*] It is of no use for you to plead bankruptcy, and to say you cannot entertain me more hospitably. I could allow you to be parsimonious, when you were well off. Now that you lose money with such equanimity, I shall insist upon being well entertained, and you must not count it a loss, for it is better to lose by a friend than a debtor.

*Aestimationem.*] Jacturam. The allusion is to Caesar's regulation for the liquidation of debts, by which creditors were compelled to take from their debtors their property, valued by an *arbiter*, at the price which it would have fetched before the Civil War, though the value was now much deteriorated. (See Caesar *Bell. Civ.* iii. 1.) So they got less than they ought. Paetus was a Caesarean, and therefore Cicero alludes to this edict.

8. *Magnificum . . . lautum.*] Rare in kind, such as peacocks, quails, pheasants, &c. And exquisitely cooked.

*Phameae.*] Phamea was the grandfather of Tigellius. (See Horat.)

*Temperius.*] At an earlier hour of the day.

*Matris tuae caenam.*] A very frugal meal.

*Miniani Jovis.*] The face of the statue of Jupiter in the capitol was painted with vermilion. This 'polypus' would be served up with red (anchovy) sauce.

*Promulside.*] You need not think to blunt my appetite by a 'promulsis,' or 'antecena,' as you used to do. For the whole subject of the courses at dinner, see *Ramsay*, or *Dict. of Antiquities.*

9. *Isto.*] Paetus was at Neapolis.

10. *Villa Seliciana.*] A house of Sulla, now belonging to one Selicius, a money lender. He had thought of buying it, but after Paetus' report of it, he thinks he will let it go, *praetermissurum.*

*Salis.*] A pun on the name of the villa, or an allusion to some 'salinae.' 'There is plenty of "salt," there, but a dearth of wits; for we cannot joke freely now.'

## Letter LXXIII.

Cicero jokingly says that he has become an Epicurean, and has given up all public cares, and must therefore be entertained more sumptuously than ever. He gives a short sketch of his life at Rome.

*Malis oneratum.*] Paetus seems to have sent Cicero a present of apples. Cicero plays on the word, and says he is 'overwhelmed with abuse,' made the butt for Paetus' jokes, which he does not mind from him. 'Veles scurra,' one who is ready to attack others with his jokes, and must not mind having them thrown back at him, being, as it were, 'pelted with apples.' Virgil, *Eclog.* iii. 64.

*In ista loca.*] Ad Neapolim. For 'promulside,' compare lxxii. 8.

*Ad ovum.*] To the beginning of the regular meal (Horat. *Sat.* I. iii. 7) as if I had no 'promulsis.' I have, in fact, become a regular gourmand, and you cannot entertain me for nothing.

*Insolentiam.*] To the present extravagance of living. Compare lxxii. 8, and *Philipp.* ix. 6. 'Sulpicius majorum continentiam diligebat, hujus seculi insolentiam vituperabat.' I shall be content with the moderate hospitality which you practised before you were a ruined man. See lxxii. 7.

*Plura praedia.*] And yet you never had more estates than you have, now that you have been obliged to take your debtors' property instead of their debts. See lxxii. 7.

2. *Jus fervens.*] In a previous letter to Paetus (*Fam.* ix. 18) Cicero speaks of a sauce for which Hirtius' cook was famous, as 'jus Hirtianum.' This was the only dish his cook could imitate.

3. *Mane salutamus.*] I receive at my own house. Compare Martial's account of his day's work. *Epigr.* viii. 4.

## Letter LXXIV.

M. Claudius Marcellus, who in his consulship attacked Caesar so violently (Letter xxxvi.) had, since the battle of Pharsalia, been in voluntary exile at Mitylene. His friends had interested themselves to gain from Caesar his recall, but Marcellus obstinately refused to make a single step to meet Caesar. Cicero writes to entreat him to make his peace with the conqueror, before it was too late; and reminds him that, wherever he was, he was equally in Caesar's power. He and others had done, and would do, all they could to protect his interests in his absence. Afterwards the senate obtained Marcellus' pardon (Letter lxxv.), and Marcellus left Mitylene, but was assassinated at Athens. (Letter lxxxii.) This letter was written in September.

3. *In Africam.*] Such as Cato, Scipio, Labienus.

*Victori.*] Such as Varro, Cicero, Cassius, Laelius.

*Ei, penes quem . . . potestas.*] It may be remarked that in the letters of this period Cicero avoids mentioning Caesar by name.

5. *Praedonum.*] The needy followers of Caesar, such as Dolabella, who would gladly repair their fortunes by seizing the confiscated property of the Pompeians.

6. *C. Marcelli.*] Cousin to this Marcellus. He was consul with L. Aemilius Paullus, A.U.C. 704.

*A tuis reliquis*]. The other Marcelli, who do not seem to have been very warm in his behalf. Compare 'Redeo ergo ad unum illud, me tuum esse, fore cum tuis, si modo erunt tui.' (*Fam.* iv. 8.)

## Letter LXXV.

This letter contains an account of the scene in the Senate on the occasion of the recall of M. Claudius Marcellus (Introd. to lxxiv.): at which time Cicero delivered his oration *Pro Marcello*, a laboured panegyric upon Caesar. This letter was written during September.

Servius Sulpicius Rufus (see vii. 2), consul with M. Claudius Marcellus, A.U.C. 703; had on the outbreak of the Civil War attempted to remain neutral; although he allowed his son to serve in the army of Caesar. After Pharsalia he had left Italy, and travelled to Asia Minor. Caesar was desirous that he should accept the province of Achaia as proconsul.

1. *Uno exemplo.*] Compare lxxii. 1.

*Tuorum scriptorum.*] The style of Servilius is highly praised for its elegance by Cicero in his *Brutus*, c. 42.

2. *Hoc Achaicum negotium.*] See Introduction.

*Aequitate tua.*] For Sulpicius had opposed Marcellus in his measures against Caesar. See Introd. to xxxvi.

3. *L. Pisone.*] See xlviii. 3. He was probably put forward by Caesar himself.

*Ne hominis quidem causa.*] Not even for the strongest personal reasons. Much as Caesar had reason to be offended with Marcellus, he would not allow the injuries that he had received from him to weigh against the intercession of the senate.

*C. Marcellus.*] See lxxiv. 6.

*Volcatium.*] Probably L. Volcatius Tullus, who had been consul A.U.C. 688. (See xx. 3, lvii. 2.) 'If he had been in Caesar's place,' he said, 'he could not have pardoned such a man as Marcellus.' Caesar seems to have called on the senators to give their opinions that the proceeding might have a more constitutional character.

4. *Pluribus verbis.*] In the speech *Pro Marcello* still extant. Some have considered this oration spurious; but it is accepted as genuine by Merivale. See his note on Abeken, *Life and Letters of Cicero*, p. 330.

5. *Noctes.*] The early hours of the morning, before daybreak. See lxviii. 1.

*De tua mansione.*] Whether you ought to remain in your province or to leave it.

## Letter LXXVI.

Aulus Caecina was the son of A. Caecina whom Cicero defended in the speech *Pro Caecina*, sprung from an old Etrurian family, supposed to possess the gift of prophecy. He studied the subject of Augury and was the author of a work *De Etrusca Disciplina*, now lost. He had been engaged on the side of Pompey, and also written a libellous work against Caesar, in consequence of which he remained long in exile. During his exile he wrote a kind of palinode, entitled *Querelae*, which he sent to Cicero. We do not know whether he received his pardon or not. On

the attacks made upon Caesar by the pamphleteers, see Mommsen, vol. iv. book v. c. xi. p. 462. In this letter, written from Rome in October, Cicero, no doubt with allusion to Caecina's augural lore, consoles Caecina by prophesying happier times, and alleges the confirmation of all his previous forebodings by the course of events as giving him a right to call himself a good prophet. He grounds his prophecy on the character of Caesar, and on the course of events: and the letter is most noteworthy for its candid and favourable judgment of the character and recent acts of the Dictator.

1. *Gratulabimur.*] On his recall from his exile.

2. *Ex republica expulissent.*] Cicero refers to his exile, and to those who connived at it, as Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus.

*In qua tu eras.*] Caecina had visited Asia as a merchant.

3. *Nostra divinatio.*] Cicero prided himself on having predicted many of the public events of his time: and he seems to have had among his contemporaries the reputation of a shrewd political prophet. Compare Corn. Nepos, *Att.* xvi.: 'Non enim Cicero ea solum, quae vivo se acciderunt, futura praedixit; sed etiam quae nunc usu veniunt cecinit ut vates.' He proceeds to give various instances of his political sagacity.

5. *In Hispaniam.*] Note on xxv. 1.

*Rationem haberi absentis.*] Viz., Caesaris. See Letter L. 3. Pompey himself, then consul, had contended for Caesar.

6. *Amphiaraus.*] As Amphiaraus knew the fate that awaited him at Thebes; so Cicero foresaw the troubles that he was about to incur by joining Pompey in the Civil War.

8. *Querelarum.*] See Introduction.

9. *Sustinere.*] If he pardoned Caecina, he could hardly resist the entreaties of others, with whom he had less reason to be offended.

*Eodem fonte.*] The writings of Caecina. Cicero purposely glosses over the provocation which Caesar had received. From Suetonius (*Jul.* lxxv.), we learn that Caecina had attacked Caesar in a very libellous pamphlet, 'criminosissimo libro.' Caecina himself, in a letter to Cicero, says 'Se armatum adversario maledixisse, et stili poenas dare.' *Fam.* vi. 7.

10. *Cassium.*] Note on lxiv. 2. Introd. to lxv.

*Brutum.*] Brutus, as well as Cassius, had been pardoned by Caesar after the battle of Pharsalus. He had now been made governor of Cisalpine Gaul.

*Sulpicium . . . Marcellum.*] Letter lxxv.

11. *Condemnati.*] Cicero particularly alludes to those who had by Pompey's law *De Ambitu*, passed in A.U.C. 702, been exiled, and who were now restored by Caesar. These trials, Caesar says, had been hurried over without investigation (see *Bell. Civ.* iii. 1), and many of them were doubtless innocent.

13. *Familiares ejus.*] Such as Lepidus, Pollio, Hirtius, Balbus, Pansa, Oppius, Matius. (See lxxvii. 2.) There is an excellent sketch of these friends of Caesar in Merivale's *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. ii. ch. xxi.

## Letter LXXVII.

T. Ampius Balbus, one of the most prominent of the Pompeians (see note on lviii. 3), had now, by Cicero's intercession with Cimber and Pansa, received his pardon. Cicero writes to congratulate him, and to explain how the business had been managed, and assures him that the *diploma* containing his pardon will soon reach him. Balbus seems to have shown great weakness in his exile; much as Cicero did before him. This letter was written from Rome, at what exact date we do not know.

2. *Caesaris familiares.*] Note on lxxvi. 13; and see Index.

*Matius.*] C. Matius Calvena. He was one of Caesar's most sturdy advocates, and remained true to his memory. (*Att.* xiv. 1.) He was manager of the games given by Octavius in honour of Caesar, with Postumius. (See xci. 3.) He lived to be in great favour with Augustus; and was a great gardener. See Middleton, vol. ii. p. 261.

*Cimber . . . Tillius.*] At this time one of Caesar's warmest friends; and afterwards governor of Bithynia. He played a prominent part among the assassins of Caesar.

*Ambitiosae.*] See note on xxxii. 5. Compare also lxxvi. 8. Cimber was a connection of Ampius.

3. *Diploma.*] A letter signed by Caesar granting pardon and safety.

*Tubam belli civilis.*] Note on lviii. 3.

*Eppuleiae.*] Balbus's wife. *Ampia,* his daughter.

4. *Hic ardor.*] The heat of civil war.

*Tuos magistratus.*] For Balbus had been tribune of the plebs, during the Catilinarian conspiracy, A.U.C. 691; praetor, A.U.C. 693, the year of the trial of Clodius.

5. *Virorum fortium.*] Ampius seems to have been composing 'Lives of Famous Men.'

## Letter LXXVIII.

Caesar, after celebrating his fourfold triumph in August and September of A.U.C. 708, had left Rome to crush the remains of the Pompeian party in Spain at the end of the year, and was now on his way to that province. This letter was probably written in January A.U.C. 709. For Cassius, see Letter lxv. He was now at Brundisium.

2. *P. Sullam.*] See lxvii. 2. He had made himself odious by purchasing the properties of the proscribed Pompeians, and seems to have been the chief, if not the only purchaser. Cassius, in a letter to Cicero (*Fam.* xv. 19) says of him, 'Itaque Sulla, cujus judicium probare debemus, quum dissentire philosophos videret, non quaesivit quid bonum esset; omnia bona coemit.' Now he was dead, Caesar's auctions might come to a standstill. Every one was glad he was dead, and did not care how he had met his end; although, says Cicero, we have lost a 'representative man,' a true 'specimen civitatis,' πρόσωπον πόλεως. Mindius and Attius are glad that they have lost so keen a competitor. They will have it all their own way now at the auctions.

3. *Rumores tristiores.*] Cicero probably means that there were reports of some disaster having befallen the Pompeians. No news of Caesar

could yet have reached Rome. He took twenty-seven days to reach his camp in Spain.

*ἀδέσποτοι.*] Nullis auctoribus.

*Pansa.*] C. Vibius Pansa (xxix. 5.) He was now on his way to Gallia Citerior to succeed Brutus. See lxxvi. 10.

*τὸ καλόν.*] Cassius was an Epicurean: and would dispute this Stoic dogma; but the general love felt for Pansa showed that virtue was its own reward.

4. *ἀκενόσπουδος.*] Incuriosus.

## Letter LXXIX.

This letter to Trebianus, of whom nothing is known, except that he had served against Caesar in Africa, and was now in exile, is chiefly remarkable for the expression of Cicero's feelings concerning Caesar. He speaks of himself as likely to have considerable influence with Caesar, and promises him to exert it on his behalf. Afterwards Dolabella obtained his recall. (*Div.* vi. 11.) The letter was probably written in January.

1. *Diutius.*] Trebianus had continued in arms after Pharsalia, when Cicero and many others had submitted. Compare lxxiv. 3.

*Postumuleno.*] Who this was is unknown.

*Sextio.*] L. Sextius, the son of P. Sextius, the client of Cicero. See Index.

2. *Ordinis tui.*] He must have been an eques. For Cicero would have said 'nostri' if he had been a senator.

*Casu devincti.*] Many of them had been indebted to Cicero for his services in past times, which seemed almost providential, now that the turn of fortune had placed them in a position in which they could serve Cicero.

## Letter LXXX.

This letter was written during the month of April from Astura, where Cicero had been living in seclusion since the death of Tullia, which had taken place at the end of January. Cicero writes to introduce a friend to Caesar, who had on February 19th captured Ategua, and had on that occasion been saluted as 'imperator' by his soldiers. The battle of Munda had also been now fought, March 17th; but the news of this success does not seem yet to have reached Cicero. This letter is written in a tone of polite and half satirical apology for his isolation from Caesar, whom he flatters indirectly by the numerous Greek quotations which he introduces. He meant it, perhaps, as he says of another letter written to Caesar, as an assertion of his independence, 'Nec mehercule scripsi aliter ac si πρὸς ἴσον ὅμοιονque scriberem' (*Att.* xiii. 50), and also to give Caesar the impression that Praecilius was worth cultivating as a literary man, and the son of a good scholar.

1. 'Ἀλλ' ἐμόν.] *Odyss.* v. 258.

"Ἀλκιμος.] *Odyss.* i. 302.

"Ὣς νεφέλη.] *Odyss.* xxiv. 314. The original line runs thus:—

Ὣς φάτο· τὸν δ' ἄχεος νεφέλη ἐκάλυψε μέλαινα.

Of Laertes, when he heard from the stranger his hopeless tale of Ulysses' wanderings. Cicero applies it to his own despondency and disappointment in following the fortunes of Pompey; although the leaders of the party exhorted him to a bold course.

2. *Iidem me consolantur.*] He seems to allude to those who wished him once more to take an active part in public life, although he had been too severely scorched (*perustum*) not to dread the fire, quoting Hector's words from *Iliad.* xxii. 304, in vain, as Caesar can see for himself. He has had enough of heroics, and prefers the safer philosophy of Euripides.

Μισῶ σοφιστήν.] From an unknown play of Euripides. This verse (or translation of it) is quoted more than once by Cicero.

Ἅμα πρόσσω.] *Iliad.* iii. 109.

Αἰὲν ἀριστεύειν.] *Iliad.* vi. 208.

## Letter LXXXI.

This is another introductory letter, written in behalf of one Apollonius, a *libertus* of Crassus, the son of the triumvir. This Apollonius had been with Cicero in Cilicia, and had accompanied Caesar to Africa. Cicero introduces him as a learned man; and tells Caesar that his object in going to Spain is to collect further materials for a Greek work which he proposes to write on the wars of Caesar. This letter was written in April.

1. *P. Crassum.*] The younger son of M. Crassus. He had served in Gaul as a legatus of Caesar, and fell gloriously at the battle of Carrhae.

*Apollonium.*] See the Introduction.

3. *Quod quum speraret . . . existimare.*] '*Quod,*' 'te ita existimare.' As Apollonius hoped that Caesar took the same view of his services that Cicero did, he was now anxious to join him in Spain. *Quod* with *quum* is in apposition to the substantive clause. See Madvig, *Lat. Grammar*, chap. ix. § 449.

4. *Diodoto.*] He lived in Cicero's house many years, and died there A.U.C. 695.

## Letter LXXXII.

Servius Sulpicius (lxxv.) informs Cicero of the death of Marcellus. For Marcellus, see lxxiv. Introd., and lxxv. There appear to have been some who accused Caesar of complicity in his murder: but Cicero considers Magius to have been actuated by revenge, in consequence of the refusal of some favour which he had asked from Marcellus. See *Att.* xiii. 10. Written from Athens, May 31.

1. *Marcellum collegam nostrum.*] Note on lxxv. 3.

*Ab Athenis.*] The town of Athens as opposed to the Piraeus.

ὑπὲρ Μαλέας.] Another reading is 'Supra Maleam'; but Schütz defends the Greek phrase, as a very common one with Romans. He quotes Pliny to Trajan, x.: 'Nuntio . . . me cum omnibus meis ὑπὲρ Μαλέας navigasse.'

2. *Acidinus.*] Supposed to have been a fellow student of Cicero filius, at Athens. *Att.* xii. 32.

3. *Tabernaculum.*] The Piraeus was now in ruins; so that travellers had to encamp, if they left their ships. The slaves of Marcellus were

afraid that they would be put to death, as accomplices in the murder of their master.

## LETTER LXXXIII.

Atticus had urged Cicero to write something weighty to Caesar; and he had accordingly composed, in the form of a letter, a kind of treatise on the Government of the State. This he had sent to Balbus and Hirtius; but they had recommended great alterations, especially the omission of a passage in which Cicero had urged upon Caesar the prosecution of the Parthian War; an expedition which they saw would have interrupted indefinitely the course of his political reforms. Cicero was not sorry to have an excuse for suppressing the treatise, which he thought, upon consideration, to be too favourable to Caesar. Written June 25th, from Tusculum.

1. *Hortos.*] The *horti Scapulani* which Cicero wished to purchase.

2. *Non possum.*] Scil. 'alteram scribere.'

*Ad Alexandrum.*] The treatises of Aristotle and Theopompus (xl. 12). See *Att.* xii. 40. *Non deest.* Those Greeks never want for words. Still, out of my hard material, I had carved something like a statue.

3. *Rex.*] Alexander became βασιλεύς of Persia.

*Quirini contubernalem.*] *Att.* xii. 45. Caesar's image was to be borne in procession (*pompa*) among the images of the gods, and to be laid up in the Capitol near Jupiter himself. This is what Cicero alludes to. It was not till some time later that his statue, inscribed DEO INVICTO, was placed in the Temple of Quirinus, next to the Temple of Salus. Schütz, therefore, is wrong in referring to this. Cicero writes to Atticus, 'De Caesare vicino scripseram ad te . . . Eum σύνναον Quirino malo quam Saluti,' 'I wish he were really in heaven.'

πρόβλημα.] See lxix. 2. Cicero's despondency since the death of Tullia had been excessive. He does not care to avoid offending Caesar, nor does he heed what he suffers at his hands.

*Nicias.*] Nicias Curtius, a grammarian, a native of Cos. He had been with Cicero in Cilicia.

## LETTER LXXXIV.

Caesar had returned to Rome in September. See Introduction to Letter xlvii. He celebrated his last triumph at the beginning of October. A thanksgiving had already been appointed for fifty days. A statue in honour of Caesar as the 'Invincible God' (lxxxiii. 3) was placed in front of the temple of Quirinus. The most remarkable incident of Caesar's triumph was the rehearsal of plays in various languages. In spite of the affectation of unusual pomp and haughtiness in which Caesar now indulged, he condescended to visit Cicero, in whose neighbourhood he was now (December 21) staying. On this visit he was attended by a numerous retinue, including two thousand soldiers. The dinner went off well, although Cicero hardly seems to have been at his ease.

1. *Tam gravem.*] Caesar and his retinue were expensive guests to entertain, and not the guests whom one would wish to have twice.

*Mihi ἀμεταμέλητον.*] That this is the best order of the words is shown by the expression in sect. 2. 'Mihi non molestam.'

*Secundis Saturnalibus.*] xiii. *Kal. Jan.* See xxxvii. 1, 5.

*Philippum.*] Philippus had married Atia, Caesar's niece, and was stepfather to Octavius. His villa was near that of Cicero. See lxxxvii. 2.

*Barba Cassius.*] Not known except as a friend of Caesar. He gave Cicero a guard; so that his villa was safe from the inroad of the soldiers, who had to encamp on the estate.

*Horam* vii.] About one o'clock p.m.

*Balneum.*] This was in Cicero's villa.

*Audivit de Mamurra.*] An attendant recited to him the epigram of Catullus against Mamurra, who had been Caesar's praefectus fabrûm in Gaul.

*Ἐμετικὴν agebat.*] 'Vomere volebat post coenam, ideoque largius edebat. Vide *Pro Deiot.* c. vii.'—*Matth.*

*Sed bene cocto.*] Verses of Lucilius, quoted in *De Finibus*, ii. 8.

2. *Σπουδαῖον οὐδέν.*] No politics, but a good deal of literary talk.

*Dextra sinistra.*] All the escorts marched by on the right and left of Caesar, who rode. This was a military honour paid to Dolabella.

## Letter LXXXV.

This letter was written at the commencement of January, A. U. C. 710; and contains an account of Caesar's appointment of Caninius Rebilus (lx. 1) to hold the consulship for half a day; the consul Q. Maximus having died on the morning of December 31. Cicero had now conceived such a dislike to Caesar's arbitrary conduct that he advised Curius not to return to Rome, as he had intended to do, to enjoy the fortune which he had made as a merchant in Achaia. As for himself he laughs at the absurdity of Caninius' consulship, and says that all he can do is to console himself with philosophy. M. Curius was one of Cicero's most intimate friends, and still more intimate with Atticus.

1. *Ubi nec Pelopidarum.*] Probably from the *Atreus* of Accius. By the Pelopidae he means Caesar and his followers. Cicero applies the words to Antony in *Phil.* xiii. 21: 'Moveri sedibus suis huic urbi melius est, atque alias, si fieri possit, terras demigrare, *unde Antoniorum nec facta nec nomen audiat*, quam illos Caesaris virtute ejectos, Bruti retentos, intra haec moenia videre.'

*Sella Q. Maximi.*] Q. Fabius Maximus had been appointed with C. Trebonius in October 709 till the end of the year. Hence his appointment was not generally considered legal, as Cicero hints.

*Comitiis tributis.*] Although Caesar had taken the auspices for the comitia tributa, he changed the assembly into a comitia centuriata, and proceeded to appoint the new consul.

*Caninio.*] T. Caninius Rebilus. He had been a legatus of Caesar's in Gaul.

*Somnum non viderit.*] His consulship began after the 'prandium' and ended before midnight. Hence the epigram to which Cicero seems to refer.

Vigilantem habemus consulem Caninium:
In consulatu somnum non vidit suo.

Tacitus alludes to this consulship, in mentioning the somewhat similar case of Rosius Regulus, who held office for one day in the reign of Vitellius. *Hist.* iii. 37.

2. *Mancipio.*] M. Curius represents himself as being the 'property' of Atticus; Cicero having only the 'usufruct' of him as a 'possessor.' The words of Curius were 'Sum enim χρήσει μὲν tuus, κτήσει δὲ Attici nostri. Ergo fructus est tuus, mancipium illius.' *Div.* vii. 29.

3. *Acilius.*] M. Acilius Glabrio, successor of Sulpicius in Achaia (lxxv.). He had served with Caesar in Greece. He had probably been proconsul of Sicily in A. U. C. 708. The particulars of these impeachments are not preserved.

---

## Ninth Division of Letters.

## AFTER CAESAR'S DEATH.

## Letters LXXXVI.–CXI.

The letters of this period fall into two divisions; the first extending from the death of Caesar to the end of the year 710, when Antonius had left Rome for the Cisalpine; the second from the outbreak of the war of Mutina to the close of Cicero's correspondence.

In the first division we find Cicero more than ever despairing of the fortunes of the state, and hesitating between his hatred of Antonius and his distrust of Octavius. He censures Antonius for his *Acta Caesaris* (lxxxvi.); for his illegal measures concerning the Sicilians and Deiotarus (lxxvii.); his recall of Sex. Clodius (lxxxviii.); and his assumption of supreme power (lxxxix.). Nothing remains but to live at Antony's pleasure (xciv.). He describes Antonius' attempt to gain over the Macedonian Legions (xcix.). Octavius, on the other hand, treated him with consideration from the first (lxxxvii.), although he does not approve of his measures with regard to Caesar's inheritance (xci.). He even approves of his supposed attempt on the life of Antonius (xcii.), and flattered by his overtures, seems for a moment to look on him as the destined saviour of the state (c.). In no other quarter can he see any hope. The rumoured successes of Sex. Pompeius give him a momentary encouragement, soon to be disappointed (xciv. xcv.). Brutus and Cassius vacillate till the time for action is lost. At one moment they think of repairing to Rome, under a safe conduct from Antony (xcii.); but at their famous council at Antium they abandon this design, and determine to leave Italy for their provinces (xciii.). Cicero himself speaks at one time of accompanying Brutus (xcv.), with whom we afterwards find his son (ciii.). At Nesis Cicero visits Brutus, and finds him partly encouraged by the success of the Ludi Apollinares, but still bent on leaving Italy (xcvi.); though for a short time there were hopes, when he saw Brutus for the last time, that the liberators might yet be reconciled to Antonius (xcviii.). The irregular zeal of Dolabella against the Caesarian mob seemed for an instant like the return of better times (xc.); but disappointed in his hopes, Cicero accepts a *legatio* from Dolabella (xciii.) and leaves Italy,

returning again to Leucopetra (xcviii.), and at last, encouraged by the conduct of Octavius, he determines to return to Rome (c.).

In the second division we have allusions to Antonius' departure for the Cisalpine (ci.). The battle of Forum Gallorum, near Mutina (cii.). The campaigns of Brutus and Cassius, and Lentulus, in the east (ciii. civ. cviii.). The movements of Plancus in pursuit of Antony (cv. cxi.) and Antonius' escape to Gaul (cvi.). He urges Decimus Brutus (cix.), and Cassius (cx.) to return to Italy.

The following Table will be found useful for this period. (The early part, down to June 8, is taken from Abeken, p. 401. Note.)

A.U.C. 710. B.C. 44.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| April | 11. | Arrival of Octavius in Italy. |
| | 15. | Brutus at Lanuvium. |
| | 18. | Lepidus in Gallia Ulterior. |
| | ,, | Octavius at Neapolis. |
| | 19. | Dolabella appointed to Syria. |
| | ,, | Trebonius repairs to his province. |
| | 22. | The Sicilians receive the franchise. |
| | 26. | Decimus Brutus in the Cisalpine. |
| | ,, | Recall of Sex. Clodius. |
| | 27. | Second spoliation of the Temple of Ops. |
| | ,, | Antonius applies for the Cisalpine. |
| | ,, | Octavius in Rome. |
| May | 1. | Dolabella overthrows Caesar's column. |
| | 3. | Antonius at Capua. |
| | 18. | Games of Venus Victrix exhibited by Octavius. |
| June | 1. | Remarkable meeting of the senate under the presidency of Antonius. Brutus relieved from residence in Rome. |
| | 5. | *Curatio annonae* assigned to Brutus and Cassius. |
| | 8. | Council of Brutus, Cassius, Favonius, Cicero, and their friends at Antium.* |
| July | 7. | Ludi Apollinares. |
| | 8. | Cicero visits Brutus at Nesis. |
| | 16. | Cicero sails from Pompeii. |
| August | 1. | Cicero reaches Syracuse. |
| | ,, | Meeting of the senate. Piso attacks Antonius, and Antonius replies. |
| | 4. | Manifesto of Brutus and Cassius against Antonius. |
| | 6. | Cicero sails again from Leucopetra, but is driven back. Determines to give up his voyage. |
| | 17. | Cicero's last interview with Brutus, at Velia. |
| | 19. | Cicero lands at Pompeii. |
| | 31. | Cicero returns to Rome. |
| | ? | Brutus and Cassius leave Italy. |
| September | 1. | Meeting of the senate. Antonius attacks Cicero in his absence. |
| | 2. | Cicero replies with his First Philippic. |
| | 19. | Antonius replies. |

*. So far Abeken gives the true or probable dates, as gathered from data contained in Cicero's Letters to Atticus. The following dates I have gathered from the letters and from Merivale's History.

A.U.C. 710. B.C. 44.

October 9. Antonius goes to meet the Macedonian legions at Brundisium. Octavius goes to levy troops in Campania. They shortly return to Rome, and are openly reconciled.

22. Reported attempt of Octavius on the life of Antonius. Cicero quits Rome for Puteoli. During this month he writes the Second Philippic, which is published during November.

November 28. Antonius goes to the Cisalpine, and besieges Decimus Brutus in Mutina,

December 9. Cicero returns to Rome.

20. Meeting of senate. Cicero delivers the Third Philippic, and, in the Forum, the Fourth.

A.U.C. 711. B.C. 43.

January 1. Pansa and Hirtius enter on their consulate. Cicero delivers the Fifth Philippic.

4. Envoys sent to Antonius. The Sixth Philippic. Hirtius goes to the Cisalpine.

28. Seventh Philippic. Return of the envoys with the demands of Antonius.

? Antonius is declared a public enemy.

February 4. Eighth Philippic.

5. Ninth Philippic. Murder of Trebonius by Dolabella. Cassius in Palestine. Brutus in Macedonia.

March 7. Tenth Philippic.

15. Eleventh Philippic. Dolabella declared a public enemy. Twelfth Philippic.

? 30. Pansa marches to join Hirtius and Octavius.

April ? Thirteenth Philippic.

15. First battle of Mutina (Forum Gallorum); Pansa mortally wounded.

21. News of the victory reach Rome.

22. Fourteenth Philippic delivered in the senate.

25. Second battle of Mutina. Hirtius slain. Pansa dies about the same time at Bononia. Antonius flies to Gallia Transalpina.

May 24. Plancus in pursuit of Antonius.

29. Lepidus joins Antonius.

June ? Dolabella put to death.

30. Lepidus declared a public enemy.

July ? 1. Octavius applies for the consulship.

August 19. The senate decrees him the consulship.

September 22. Octavius made consul with Q. Pedius. Assumes publicly the title of C. Julius Caesar Octavianus. Completes his 20th year on the following day. He leaves Rome for the Cisalpine.

October. Plancus joins Antonius and Lepidus. Decimus Brutus abandoned by his troops, and put to death by Antonius.

November 27. The Second Triumvirate.

December 7. Death of Cicero.

## LETTER LXXXVI.

This letter was written at Puteoli, April 19th. In the interval between this and the last letter had occurred Caesar's death, and the various tumults which had followed that event. (See Merivale, *Fall of the Roman Republic*, chap. xv.) Cicero's own conduct had shown at the outset more decision than he had manifested for years past; and if his advice had been followed, Antony might possibly have been disarmed. He, however, had behaved with consummate adroitness, and had taken advantage of the popular feeling to secure his own position, under the pretence of deference to the 'Acts of Caesar,' in conformity with which he wielded the supreme power of the state.

The provinces had been allotted by Caesar, and several of them had fallen to the conspirators. Decimus Brutus had Gallia Cisalpina; Brutus and Cassius, Macedonia and Syria, for the following year, for they were at this time praetors; C. Trebonius, Asia. After the change of popular feeling occasioned by Caesar's funeral, the conspirators had lived in seclusion, or set out secretly, as Trebonius did, for their provinces. Brutus and Cassius had left Rome, and were moving about the country towns, hoping that things would change.

Octavius had been adopted by Caesar as his son and heir; and he now appeared in Italy, determined to claim his inheritance. The day before this letter was written he had visited Cicero at Cumae. Of this interview Cicero speaks more fully in the following letter. Antony was at this moment on a journey through Italy, to secure his allies and to form new friendships.

In this letter Cicero complains that the cause for which Brutus and his friends had ventured everything seemed all but lost: Brutus himself hiding at Lanuvium; and all the acts and even the wishes of Caesar more powerful now than when he was alive. The opportunity had been lost; and he saw nothing for it now but to leave his country.

1. *Trebonius.*] Note on L. 7.

*Illo primo Capitolino die.*] Immediately after the death of Caesar the conspirators had withdrawn to the Capitol. Cicero had joined them there; and had advised that the praetors should convoke the senate; but Brutus delayed, wishing to make another attempt to gain the people; and meanwhile Antonius, supported by Lepidus, had become master of the situation. Abeken gives an excellent sketch of the events of these days (book ix.). Compare also Merivale, chap. xv.

*Liberalia.*] Celebrated March 17th. Cicero means the acts of the senate held on that day in the temple of Tellus. (Compare lxxxix. 2.) Especially the decree in favour of the veterans, who on that occasion, guarded all the approaches to the temple. *Phil.* II. xxxv. 89.

*In tecta nostra.*] On the occasion of Caesar's funeral. The house of a senator, L. Belliarus, was burnt. *Phil.* II. xxxvi. 91.

Γὴν πρὸ γῆς.] The quotation is no doubt from Aeschylus:

> *οἰστρόπληξ δ' ἐγὼ*
> *μάστιγι θείᾳ γῆν πρὸ γῆς ἐλαύνομαι.*—*Prom. Vinct.* 682.

He must seek some distant land. 'Yours' (Atticus' property in Epirus) 'is exposed to the storm.'

2. *Nausea.*] From which Atticus had told him he was suffering.

*Tebassos, &c.*] Names of veterans, to whom had been allotted the property of Pompeians, and who would naturally wish to destroy Cicero's party.

*Curtilio.*] He was a Caesarian, now in possession of Sextilius' property.

*Censorinus.*] He was afterwards appointed governor of Greece by Antony, and B.C. 39 was consul. His son is addressed by Horace, *Carm.* IV. viii.

*Mustela.*] Mustela Tamisius, a friend of Antony. He is mentioned by Cicero in his Fifth Philippic as one of the leaders of Antony's armed bands. 'Cassius, Mustela, Tiro, gladios ostentantes, sui similes greges ducebant per forum.' *Phil.* V. xviii. Compare also *Phil.* II. iv.

*Planco.*] T. Plancus Bursa. He had been in voluntary exile at Ravenna: but was recalled by Caesar; and was now a partisan of Antony.

*Illo interfecto.*] It would have been better immediately after Caesar's death to have attacked and destroyed Antony, even if we had perished in the attempt. Cicero often dwells on their folly in not having put Antony to death. See ci. 1, and compare xciii. 2.

3. *Octavius.*] Son of the C. Octavius, mentioned in vi. 12. He formally assumed the name of Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus after the ratification of his adoption by the senate in August of the following year, upon his assumption of the consulship with Q. Pedius. It is probable, however, that he was commonly called *Octavianus*, and even *Caesar Octavianus* from the time that his adoption by Caesar was made public in Italy. We find Cicero using these names in Letters xcix. and c. written towards the end of this year. From the following letter, sect. 2, we find that some of his friends already called him Caesar.

*Hereditatem.*] The private fortune of Caesar, the greater part of which had been squandered by Antony.

*ῥοιζόθεμιν.*] Contentionem. He and Antony had not yet met.

*Buthrotia.*] Atticus had redeemed the land of Buthrotus, which Caesar had forfeited, at his own expense, and had, by Cicero's intervention, obtained a decree from Caesar, liberating it from military confiscation. Cn. Manutius Plancus however, and a band of veterans were waiting there to take possession of the lands. Caesar's death, and certain intrigues of Plancus with Antony, had again endangered the territory. The case was finally settled in favour of the people of Buthrotum by a *senatus consultum*, procured by Dolabella.

*Cluvianum.*] Atticus had asked Cicero whether he had got his Cluvian inheritance up to 100 H.S. Cicero replies that it probably will soon be worth that; for in this first year he had cleared eighty from it.

## Letter LXXXVII.

See Introduction to lxxxvi. Cicero describes more fully his interview with Octavius, and mentions some of the illegal acts of Antony, in which he had outstripped even Caesar. Written April 22.

1. *Istinc.*] From Rome, where Atticus now was.

*Siculos.*] Antony had admitted the Sicilians to the full rights of citi-

zenship, in order to gain them over to his side, and probably also to raise the hopes of other provinces.

*Latinitas.*] At this period the 'jus Latii' designated a higher grade of civil rights than originally. It probably included the *Jus Commercii* and *Jus Connubii*; but not the *Jura Publica*, viz., Suffragium, Jus Honorum, and Jus Provocationis. The whole of Italy was now in the enjoyment of it. This had been granted by Caesar; but Antony now went beyond this.

*Fixit legem.*] Compare 'Inspectantibus vobis, toto Capitolio tabulae figebantur; neque solum singulis veniebant immunitates, sed etiam populis universis: civitas non jam singillatim, sed provinciis totis dabatur.' *Phil.* ii. 36.

*Deiotari.*] See Index. Caesar had deprived him of part of Armenia Minor, which Antony now restored to him on the pretended authority of Cicero's private papers. (Compare *Phil.* II. xxxvii.) Deiotarus had bribed Antony, through his wife Fulvia, with 1,000,000 sesterces.

*Buthrotiam.*] See note on lxxxvi. 3. It was all the more to be expected that they would gain this point, as Antony was now granting favours to so many, on the authority of Caesar's commentarii.

2. *Philippus.*] See lxxxiv. 1. For 'Caesarem salutabant,' see note on lxxxvi. 3.

*Pelopidarum.*] See lxxxv. 1.

*Hos designatos.*] Hirtius and Pansa. They were, it appears, still among Cicero's pupils (see lxxii. 7), so that he could not get a holiday even at Puteoli.

3. *Vestorium.*] A banker and money-lender of Puteoli.

## Letter LXXXVIII.

Cicero was now at the estate which had been left him by Cluvius (lxxxvi. 3), which commanded a fine view of the sea, while his estate at Arpinum looked upon low hills (*tumuli*). Both places, he says, were very pleasant to him, but his anxieties entirely prevented his taking any pleasure in such things. He was still apprehensive of a renewal of the Civil War, for it seemed unlikely that Sextus Pompeius would lay down his arms. In that case he felt that he could not well remain neutral, as he had tried to do in the former war, and that he would have to join either Sextus or Brutus, or perhaps he might obtain a *legatio libera* and retire to Greece. His chief consolation at this time was in his literary pursuits. It was now that he wrote some of his noblest works; at this very time he was probably engaged on the *Cato Major*. (See *Chronological List of Cicero's Speeches and Writings.*) He speaks of his brother Quintus, who had been separated from his wife Pomponia, and was in embarrassment concerning her dower. He was also much annoyed at this time by a letter from Antonius, who begged him not to oppose the recall of Sextus Clodius. He felt himself unable to oppose a measure which Antonius would have carried whether he approved it or not. Cicero's reply breathes a spirit of friendship very much at variance with his remarks to Atticus. We find from the Second Philippic that Antonius afterwards turned this letter against Cicero. This letter to Atticus was written April 26.

1. *Tumulis.*] The low hills near his farm at Arpinum.

*Ambulatione.*] The sea-beach at Puteoli.

'Αλλ' οὐ δαιτός.] The words of Ulysses, *Iliad.* x. 218.

2. *D. Bruti.*] Decimus Brutus was in Gallia Citerior, with three legions.

*Sextus.*] After the battle of Munda, Sextus Pompeius had retired into the mountainous districts of Spain, waiting for an opportunity to reappear.

Τέκνον ἐμόν.] The words of Jupiter to Venus. *Iliad.* v. 421. Cicero alters γάμοιο into λόγοιο. Cicero and Atticus might well choose the weaker part of letters in case of a new war.

3. *Litterae.*] See Introduction.

4. *Legatus.*] See Introduction, and compare i. 2. He had requested Caesar to give him this *legatio*, that he might go to see his son, who was now at Athens.

5. *Ad lacum quod habeo.*] His Cuman villa, by Lacus Lucrinus. The report which Atticus had heard was, that Cicero was about to sell this villa, and to present a small property to his brother Quintus, that he might have a house to which to bring Aquillia, giving it as a dower to her, whom he was going to marry. Cicero answers that he has no thoughts of selling; and as for Quintus, he has enough on his hands with Pomponia's unpaid dowry without buying new property; nor is he likely to marry at all.

*Egnatio.*] He had aided Quintus at this time.

6. *Sex. Clodii.*] Introduction, and note on lix. 3.

*Falsis . . . commentariis.*] Antonius had procured Faberius, the secretary of Caesar, to garble Caesar's genuine papers and to forge others. (*Ad Att.* xiv. 18.)

### Letter of Antony.

1. *Tua profectione.*] Cicero had left Rome as soon as it appeared clear that Antonius had got the supreme power into his own hands.

2. *P. Clodium.*] He was the stepson of Antonius, who had married his mother Fulvia. He turned out a low debauchee.

3. *Nihil . . . non tua caussa feci.*] Cicero satirically alludes to Antony's great services to him: 1. In attacking Clodius in the Forum; 2. In sparing his life at Brundisium; in *Phil.* II. xx. 24.

### Letter of Cicero.

This letter of Cicero's was read by Antonius before the senate on the 19th September, as a proof of their intimacy only a short time before, and Cicero found this sufficiently embarrassing to lead him to devote a long passage to it in his Second Philippic, in which he vindicates this letter, as a proof of his own conciliatory feeling and good policy. *Phil.* II. iv.

4. *Tuas partes.*] For Antonius was his stepfather.

## Letter LXXXIX.

This letter was written on April 27th. On the 21st the Parilia had been celebrated at Rome, at which the younger Quintus had appeared crowned with a garland. Cicero was annoyed at this, because this year

the ordinary solemnities of the Parilia had been augmented by honours paid by Octavius to the memory of Caesar. Cicero speaks of Antony as perpetuating, and indeed increasing, the tyranny of Caesar, and briefly reviews his past acts, and the untoward events which had taken place since Caesar's death, especially his funeral. (Compare Introduction to lxxxvi.) Now Antony was bent on obtaining the Cisalpine as his province, and had again plundered the temple of Ops. In spite of the act of Brutus and Cassius, they were still slaves.

1. *Parilibus.*] The Parilia, or Palilia, a festival in honour of Pales, supposed to be the day of the foundation of the city. The preceding words are a quotation from the *Ilione* of Pacuvius. The act of Quintus displeased Cicero, because it indicated that he was devoted to Antony. In another letter he writes 'Quintus filius, ut scribis, Antonii est dextella.' (*Att.* xiv. 20.)

*Haeresi Vestoriana.*] Cicero had mentioned Vestorius to Atticus (lxxxvii. 3) as a man well versed in money matters but not in dialectic. Atticus seems to have bantered Cicero on thinking more of money than of letters, and therefore belonging to the Vestorian sect. Cicero defends himself for not writing on public matters in sect. 5 of this letter.

*Pherionum.*] This is obscure. Some suppose Atticus to have joked about the mode of cooking a certain kind of fish (*fariones*) at Puteoli.

2. *Clodio.*] Compare the last letter.

*Rufio.*] See *Att.* v. 2. Cicero says that he shall not be surprised to find that Rufio and Victor have been mentioned in Caesar's papers.

*Liberalibus.*] See note on lxxxvi. 1.

*Veterani.*] Compare *Phil.* II. xxxv. The soldiers of Antony occupied all the approaches to the Aedes Telluris, where the senate was sitting. At this meeting of the senate a *senatus consultum* was passed, guaranteeing to the veterans the grants of land which had been promised to them.

*Sessionem Capitolinam.*] Brutus and Cassius, immediately after the death of Caesar, had repaired to the Capitol. Cicero blamed them for wasting time there instead of convoking the senate.

3. *Si ille funere elatus esset.*] The funeral of Caesar was the establishment of Antony in supreme power. See Introd. to lxxxvi.

4. *Kal. Juniis.*] This was the remarkable meeting of the senate, at which Antony applied for an exchange of provinces, in which the Gaulish provinces should be given to himself instead of to Decimus Brutus. He obtained his request. *Utrisque*, Gallia Cisalpina and Transalpina. See *Phil.* II. xlii.

5. *Opis.*] The Temple of Ops was the treasury. These treasures, to the amount of 700,000,000 sesterces, was taken by Antony. Part of this money had been taken while Cicero was still in Rome, and now there had been a further plunder. Antony used some of the money to gain over Dolabella. Compare *Phil.* II. xlii.

*Rauduscsulum.*] I shall not praise the Caesarians, to secure the trifle which they owe me. He seems to allude to Dolabella, who owed him money. Atticus appears to have been a witness to his will, or to that of some one else of the party who was in debt to Cicero.

6. *Vicinis tuis Massiliensibus.*] The people of Massilia appear to have sent an embassy to Rome, which was lodged in a house near Atticus,

to recover some of their property of which they had been deprived by Caesar. 'You write,' says Cicero, 'as if they were likely to gain their cause; which they will not gain, unless we defeat the Caesarians.'

### Letter XC.

Dolabella, left in sole control of the city during the absence of Antonius in Southern Italy, was at this moment playing into the hands of the republicans, and putting down every movement in honour of Caesar. After the punishment of the pretended Marius by Antonius, he had overthrown the marble pillar, or altar (xcii. 2), which commemorated Caesar's funeral, and levelled and paved the site for public traffic. Cicero exults over this deed, as if the republic were now restored (compare 'O Dolabellae nostri magnam ἀριστείαν! . . . Mihi quidem videtur Brutus noster vel coronam auream per forum ferre posse. Quis enim audeat violare, &c.,' *Att.* xiv. 16), and addresses Dolabella as a genuine republican. Cicero can hardly escape the imputation of having been influenced, in this flattery, by the anxiety which he felt concerning the restitution of Tullia's dowry, which Dolabella had not yet made; although he no doubt sincerely wished to gain him over to the cause of Brutus and Cassius (sect. 8). He was blamed by Atticus for this very letter (*Att.* xiv. 18). He soon changed his feeling towards Dolabella, who shortly after went to his province of Syria, where he cruelly murdered Trebonius (Letter civ.), and was at last driven to extremities by Cassius, and had himself killed by one of his soldiers. This letter was written from Pompeii, May 2nd.

2. *Agamemnoni.*] Cicero was not long in denouncing Dolabella in terms applicable only to a Thersites.

*Juvenem consulem.*] Dolabella is said to have obtained this honour in his twenty-fifth year.

3. *L. Caesar.*] The brother of Julia, and uncle of Antony, who sacrificed him to the exigencies of the triumvirate. Hence '*sororis filium.*'

4. *Hereditatem . . . cernere.*] Note on xl. 10.

5. *Amare . . . dilexisse.*] Compare 'Ut scires eum non a me diligi solum, verum etiam amari' (*Div.* xiii. 47). See lxxii. 2.

7. *Accessus.*] You treat the matter with so much wisdom, both in attack and retreat, like a prudent general. You chose the right moment; so that no one could accuse you of rashness in the matter, but all must allow that the moment had come for your interference.

### Letter XCI.

This letter was written from Sinuessa, May 18. On entering Rome, Octavius had immediately undertaken the duties of Caesar's heir before the praetor urbanus C. Antonius, and had pleaded his cause in a speech before the people, from whom it was necessary to obtain a *lex curiata*, sanctioning his adoption. At the same time he courted the people by an exhibition of games, May 18. Cicero was not contented with his proceedings. He wished him to attack Antonius; but he would have had him surrender

his rights, which were the only cause of controversy between him and the consul. The meeting between Antonius and Octavius took place about this time, at which Octavius claimed his inheritance, and Antony endeavoured to put him off on the ground that the inheritance was not a private one, but public treasure, and had all been spent for the good of the state. Octavius, by the help of his friends, discharged all the obligations of Caesar's will, and thus laid the foundation of his future success. Antony, by a series of violent attacks, endeavoured to undermine him, but without success.

*In Vescino.*] Between Mons Massicus and the River Liris.

*Buthroto.*] See lxxxvi. 3.

2. *L. Antonium.*] The younger brother of M. Antonius. This speech was delivered on the occasion of a motion of his for dividing the Ager Pomptinus among Caesar's veterans. He was consul three years after this, and quarrelled with Octavianus. The war which ensued between them is known as the Perusine War, from Perusia, where Antonius was blockaded and capitulated. Cicero attacked him violently in his third, fifth, and twelfth Philippics.

*Menedemo.*] A Greek, who had been made a citizen by Caesar. Cicero calls him *'nequissimum Graecorum.' Phil.* xiii. 16. Some report had been circulated of his having met with some punishment, at which Cicero rejoices; bnt this turned out afterwards to be untrue. He was afterwards beheaded.

*Quintus . . . dictitat.*] Viz., that he is Antony's right hand (*Att.* xiv. 20.) Compare note on lxxxix. 1.

*Quod ea non scribam.*] See lxxxix. 5, and Introduction. Atticus had asked Cicero to write a history of his own times.

*Orationem eam.*] One of Brutus, delivered before the people immediately after Caesar's death. In *Att.* xv. 1, Cicero criticises it as wanting in fire: 'Ego . . . si illam ὑπόθεσιν habuissem, scripsissem ardentius.'

*Legionibus.*] The Macedonian legions, already recalled to Italy by Antonius. Compare xcvi. 4; xcix. 2. Atticus had congratulated himself on their approaching departure from Greece, as likely to facilitate the settlement of the affair of Buthrotus. Cicero hopes that the matter will be settled by the senate, or at all events, in some way or other. See lxxxvi. 3.

3. *Octavii concione.*] See Introduction.

*Ludorum.*] Caesar had promised to the people games in honour of Venus Victrix, from whom he claimed descent through Aeneas. Octavius, as his heir, celebrated these games; Matius, Postumius, and Saserna, being the chief managers of the shows. For Matius and Postumius, see lxxvii. 2. It was during the celebration of these games that the celebrated comet, 'Dionaei Caesaris astrum' (Virg. *Ecl.* ix. 47) the favourite prodigy of Roman poets, appeared; one of the numerous omens which seemed to welcome to Rome the heir of the dictator. The month Quintilis was now named Julius. Note on xcvi. 3.

*Saserna.*] He served with Caesar in the African War.

*Disputatio Tusculana.*] Written two years before this.

*Confirmat.*] Sc. Ad mortem contemnendam.

*Flamma.*] Flaminius, with whom Atticus had had some money dealings.

*Tyndaritanorum.*] The inhabitants of Tyndaris in Sicily. After *Hos tamen*, Schütz supplies *defendemus, si opus fuerit*.

Πεντέλοιπον.] Hirtius. Cicero had designated him by this name in a previous letter (*Att.* xiv. 21). What is meant by the word is very doubtful. See Schütz *ad locum*. Manutius explains it as 'the remaining one of the five,' viz., Octavius, Balbus, Pansa, Philippus, and Hirtius, who had been with Cicero at Puteoli. Hirtius was annoyed by Antonius's robbery of the public money. See lxxxix. 5.

## Letter XCII.

This letter was written to Antony during the month of May. About the middle of April Brutus and Cassius left Rome, and stayed at various municipal towns (Introd. to Letter lxxxvi.). They wished to be present at the expected meeting of the senate on the 1st of June, and now wrote to Antonius to endeavour to obtain from him some security against the veterans, who had escorted Antonius to Rome after his progress through Southern Italy. Antonius, by his abolition of the dictatorship and his punishment of the pretended Marius, had probably led many of the republicans to entertain false hopes of his future conduct. In spite of the complimentary language used in this letter, Brutus and Cassius probably shared the distrust of their friends which they mention in sect. 3, though it was politic, up to the time of an open breach, to profess friendship with Antonius. Antonius' true character did not fully appear till June 1.

1. *In tua potestate fuerimus.*] Compare xvi. 2.

2. *De reponenda ara.*] See Introd. to Letter xc. This is sometimes called 'columna,' as in *Philipp.* i. 3. It was an altar in the form of a pillar, and is thus described by Suetonius: 'Postea solidam columnam prope viginti pedum lapidis Numidici in foro statuit (plebes), scripsitque Parenti Patriae.' (*Caes.* lxxxv.)

3. *Denuntiatum.*] Ut in urbem frequenter conveniant.

## Letter XCIII.

The interview with Brutus and Cassius described in this letter (written on the same day, and giving a most graphic sketch of the day's proceedings) took place on the 8th of June, in the presence of Portia, Tertulla, Servilia, and Favonius. A decree of the senate, passed on June 5, had assigned to Brutus and Cassius the *curatio annonae* on the coasts of the Mediterranean, as a compensation for the loss of their provinces of Syria and Macedonia. This they resented with the greatest indignation, and although Cicero urged them to comply with the appointment of the senate, they were for more decided measures, Cassius advising that they should seize Achaia, where many of the old Pompeians were; while Brutus was for proceeding to Rome and endeavouring to raise the populace (now no longer inclined to use their hands except for applauding at the games, (xcvi. 3) by the spectacle of the Ludi Apollinares, which were to be celebrated on the 7th of Quintilis, and for which Brutus had bespoken a play on the 'Banishment of the Tarquinii.' Cicero, indeed, seems to have wasted the opportunity by recriminatory allusions to the past (sect. 2, note). Servilia undertook to use her influence with the Caesarians for the rescindal of the decree, so that Cassius might go at once to his pro-

vince; and Brutus abandoned his wild purpose. Cicero saw the uselessness of these debates; the cause was a mere shattered ship without a captain. And in fact the two leaders of the republicans remained still inactive. On the 2nd June, Dolabella had nominated Cicero one of his *legati* (see sect. 4), which gave him a fair excuse for absenting himself from Italy.

1. *Servilia.*] Mother of Brutus. There is a good account of her in Merivale's *Romans under the Empire*, ch. xxiv. She had been intimate with Caesar; hence her influence with his party.

*Tertulla.*] Sister of Brutus and wife of Cassius.

*Porcia.*] Wife of Brutus, daughter of Cato.

*Favonius.*] Now a staunch republican. Formerly derided as a feeble imitator of Cato. (See vi. 9.) He was among the captives after the battle of Philippi.

2. *Amissas occasiones.*] Of putting Antonius to death among other things. Cicero constantly laments this omission. See ci. 1; and lxxxvi. 2.

*Decimum.*] Cassius blamed Decimus Brutus for his inactivity in his province. Ernesti supposed that it was Decimus who dissuaded the murder of Antonius on the Ides of March: but this was Brutus's doing.

*Tangi.*] Occidi.

*Susciperem.*] In fact, I took up the general public question.

*Tua familiaris.*] Servilia. This is generally taken to mean, 'I never heard such spirited counsel from any one;' in which case Cicero is made to check her because she exerted too much influence over Brutus. But it seems rather to mean (notice the *vero*), 'Why! I never heard of your giving this advice, or any one else.' In this case, Cicero would instantly check her, as blaming himself; would 'put her down' as he best could.

*Iturus.*] To his province, for Servilia was to procure the repeal of the decree about the *curatio annonae.*

*Noster.*] Brutus.

*Ludi.*] Apollinares. See Introduction, and note on xcvi. 3.

3. 'Η δεῦρ' ὁδός.] Probably from Sophocles.

*Nec Pelopidarum.*] Compare lxxxv. 1, and lxxxvii. 2.

4. *Dolabella me sibi legavit.*] Dolabella had in April (? 19th) received the province of Syria, Introd. to Letter xc., and was preparing to go there.

*Votiva.*] Cicero had intended at one time to apply to the senate for a *legatio votiva* (xviii. 6), or a *legatio libera* (i. 2); this Atticus had disapproved of, and Cicero himself here condemns. Dolabella's *legatio* was better than a *libera legatio*, in extending over the next five years, the *liberae legationes* being generally limited by the *Lex Julia* '*de Provinciis.*' (Ramsay, *Roman Antiqq.*, p. 192.) It was probably only nominal. Cicero availed himself of it when he left Italy on the 16th July, intending to return by the Kal. of January in the following year.

*Contrahi . . . negotium videtur.*] Events are crowding closely together; and five years is a long time to look forward to.

## Letter XCIV.

Cicero despairs of the state, now that he sees that the memory of Caesar is held in supreme honour, and that the republicans hold their

lives merely at Antony's pleasure. And all this is to be laid to Brutus. Sextus Pompeius had at this time gained some ground in the south of Spain, and was expected to sail for Italy. Cicero's pecuniary difficulties detained him for the time in Italy. This letter was written June 21.

1. *Vecteno.*] A banker, who had aided Cicero at this time.

*Niciae.*] See lxxxiii. 3. He had been sent forward by Dolabella into his province. Cicero says, he shall be glad to receive any commissions for Dolabella or for Nicias. 'For who will inquire particularly into such things?'

*Legationis.*] See xciii. 4.

2. *Qui caussae cursus est.*] Ut res nunc geruntur.

3. *Pompeium.*] Sextus, who had lurked in the Eastern Pyrenees since the battle of Munda, had, on the news of Caesar's death, attacked and defeated Asinius Pollio, and was now master of Spain; and was attempting negotiations with Antony and Lepidus. Cicero dreaded Sextus as much as Antony; but he felt that he could no longer remain neutral: and therefore he hoped to escape by leaving Italy.

*Brutus . . . subito.*] Profecturus est. 'When shall I see him?' They met in the island of Nesis. (xcvi.)

*Dii illi mortuo.*] Irati sint, qui unquam Buthrotum proscripsit. This was what gave Atticus so much trouble, and prevented his seeing Brutus See Letter lxxxvi. 3.

4. *Versuram.*] Cicero was to borrow the sum of 2,000,000 sesterces for five months, after which the money due from Q. Cicero would come in. The raising of this sum he leaves to Atticus.

*Mercedibus dotalium praediorum.*] These were *insulae*, or property in houses in Rome, probably part of Terentia's dowry, which were in his hands, for his son.

*Quanquam volo laxius.*] I could wish he were more plentifully provided for . . . But he will have his money from the houses, as it falls in. I want some large sum in the lump, for the expenses of my journey.

*Qui umbras timet.*] Antonius had provided himself with a body guard, on the pretence that his life was in danger.

*Explicata solutione.*] He alludes particularly to the money owed to him by his brother, and to the rents of his property mentioned above.

*Fadio.*] Certain money had been deposited with Cicero by his fellow townsmen of Arpinum. This Atticus was to pay to no one but Fadius. Fadius was aedile of Arpinum.

## Letter XCV.

In this letter Cicero speaks again of his contemplated departure, which took place eight days later, July 16. He means, if he can, to sail in company with Brutus, as a protection against the pirates who were now infesting the Mediterranean. He dwells at length on his pecuniary affairs; and alludes slightly to the affair of Ventidius. (See note on sect. 4.) As for Sextus, he does not seem inclined to fight; so the only hope left is in the new consuls, when they shall have come into office; though they are not so strong as they should be. Written July 8.

1. *Nesidem.*] An island off the coast of Campania. Brutus was staying

there with Lucullus. This interview with Brutus is described in the next Letter.

*Nonis Juliis.*] Atticus had written to Cicero that the Ludi Apollinares of Brutus (xciii. 2) had been advertised for the Nonae Juliae. The very name *Juliis* was abominable to Cicero, and a kind of satire on Brutus.

*Dii hercule istis.*] Antonianis istis Dii male faciant.

*Ἔτ' ἰῶμεν.*] Are we to put up with their conduct any longer?

*Nihil vidi.*] Turpius, minus ferendum.

2. *Agripetas Buthroti.*] The soldiers who expected that the lands of Buthrotum would be allotted to them (see lxxxvi. 3). Plancus had returned, Cicero was told, very crestfallen from Buthrotum, without stopping on his way. The *senatus consultum* in favour of the Buthrotians had, probably, just been obtained by Dolabella.

3. *Dymaeos.*] Pirates who had been settled by Pompey at Dyme, in Achaia. Caesar had driven them out, and they had returned to their old occupation.

4. *Ventidio.*] Bassus. The ablest lieutenant of Antony. He had been a slave, then a mule jobber at Rome, and subsequently had served under Caesar in Gaul. By Antony he was made consul, A. U. C. 711, and was distinguished in his campaign in Cilicia, and against the Parthians. It has been supposed that by the word πανικόν, Cicero alludes to a sudden raid said by Appian (Merivale, *Romans*, ch. xxvi.) to have been made by him on Rome. But this was after the battle of Mutina. What Cicero means probably is, That Ventidius will join Antony is an idle fear. He did join him on his retreat from the Cisalpine. See Introduction to Letter cvi.

*Sexto.*] Sextus proposed to lay down his arms, if his patrimony was restored to him, and if the Caesarian chiefs would disarm.

Λῆρος πολύς.] It is mere nonsense to trust in their debauchery and lethargy. Here again Cicero was mistaken. Hirtius, in spite of his ill health, showed great vigour, and Pansa shook off his constitutional indolence, in their campaign against Antony. Cicero speaks very differently of them at the beginning of next year. See Letter ci. 3.

5. *Ciceronis.*] The younger Cicero was now at Athens. This money would be enough to meet his wants (compare xciv. 4), as Ovius, who had recently come from Athens, told Cicero.

*Xenonem.*] Who had been employed by Atticus to supply Cicero with money at Athens. Cicero begs Atticus to charge to the account of the year of his son's journey to Athens all that he raised on his account above the rents of the *insulae*. These rents were now 80 sestertia yearly; and this sum was henceforth to be allowed to the younger Cicero every year, beginning with April 1. 'I shall have,' he says, 'to make some new arrangement, when he returns to Rome: for I do not think that his intended marriage will come off.' Probably with some rich girl, but what a mother-in-law!

*Pindaro.*] A *publicanus*, who had offered to buy Cicero's Cuman villa. Schütz reads *decumano*, and conjectures that he had come about the marriage just alluded to.

6. *Catonem.*] Quintus the younger promises me that he will be a second Cato. See note on lxxxix. 1.

*Attributionem.*] Some debt owed by Quintus Cicero filius, was to be paid by the Ides. It had been made over to some third person.

*Atticae.*] Pomponia. See note on xxi. 7.

## Letter XCVI.

After touching, as in so many letters of this period, on his private affairs, Cicero gives an account of his interview with Brutus at the island of Nesis. The Ludi Apollinares had now been exhibited, to the satisfaction of Brutus, who was pleased at the manner in which they had been received, though Cicero attached but little importance to the empty applause of a mob who were not prepared to make any further exertions for the cause. Brutus was on the point of starting, but he still remained about a month, for on the 17th of August Cicero meets him at Velia (xcviii.). Cassius also was at Nesis at this time, and seems now to have concerted with Brutus a more decided course against Antony: the first symptom of which was their joint protest against Antony, in reply to Antony's edict and letter to them, by which he intended to drive them from Italy. See Introduction to Letter xcvii. This letter was written on the 10th July.

1. *Buthrotis.*] Atticus had written word that Plancus had taken possession of the land of Buthrotum. Cicero replies that they had heard a very different story. See xcv. 2.

*Hortensio.*] Was he Hortensius' son (lx. 5)? At all events, he was co-heir with Cicero of the Cluvian property, and had sold his share to Cicero. Of the price Cicero had paid two instalments; the third was due on the 1st of Sextilis, of which the greater part had already been paid. Who the *equites* are is not known. Perhaps they were some *publicani* who had accommodated Cicero in this transaction.

*Publilio.*] The brother of his divorced wife Publilia, to whom Cicero had to repay her dowry. *Perscribi.* To be paid by a bill of exchange. Cicero had paid him part of the balance due to him in cash, and was now giving him a bill for the rest. He had dealt with him, it seems, more liberally than was actually required by the law.

3. *Tereo.*] Instead of the play which Brutus had bespoken (Introd. to xciii.), C. Antonius, his colleague, had exhibited the Tereus of Accius, which contained some allusions to tyrants, which had been much applauded. Brutus was likely to resent Antonius's conduct in the matter, though he was tolerably well satisfied with the result. See Introduction.

*Istorum animi.*] Antonius and his friends would be excited by these marks of popular sympathy with the liberators to hurry on their nefafarious designs. For *repraesentare* in this sense, compare 'Quin etiam corpus libenter obtulerim, si repraesentari morte mea libertas civitatis potest,' (*Philipp.* II. xlvi.), and 'Non debemus expectare temporis medicinam quam representare ratione possimus.' (*Div.* v. xvi. 6.)

*Dummodo.*] The line is one of Afranius. (*Tusc. Disp.* iv. 20.)

4. *Legionum.*] The legions from Macedonia (xci. 2). They arrived early in October, when Antonius went to meet them (xcix. 2).

*Piratarum.*] Compare xcv. 3.

*Sextius.*] He seems to have been engaged in collecting ships for Brutus.

*Cassius.*] He had collected a number of vessels under pretext of sending them for corn; but really intending to co-operate, if possible, with Sextus Pompeius.

5. *Planco.*] Cicero wrote to Munatius Plancus on the Buthrotum affair. His two letters are given in *Att.* xvi. 16.

*Oppio.*] See note on lviii. 7.

6. *In Italiam.*] Cicero intended, by Atticus's advice, to return to Rome in time for the New Year, when Hirtius and Pansa were to enter on their office.

Ἡρακλείδειον.] Some treatise of Politics, in imitation of Heraclides. See note on xxix. 1.

*De gloria.*] Completed on the 4th July. We have no means of forming an opinion upon this now lost treatise of Cicero.

*Eclogarii.*] Notentur loci insigniores, which Cicero calls ἄνθη in another place (*Att.* xvi. 11). These Salvius, the ἀναγνώστης of Atticus (compare xxiv. 3), was to read aloud only before a select audience of Atticus' friends.

## Letter XCVII.

On the 1st of August had been held a meeting of the senate, to consider the application of Brutus and Cassius that a decree should be passed releasing them formally from residence in Rome; for they wished, while discharging their commission abroad, to retain their position as praetors at Rome. By the concourse of an unusual number of senators, the decree was carried, and the sitting was rendered remarkable by the attack of Caesoninus Piso (xlviii. 3) on Antony. Antony replied by a violent speech, and it was in reply to this that Brutus and Cassius directed their fierce but impotent manifesto against the consul, dated August 4. This bravado of theirs Antonius treated with contempt.

*Edicto.*] See Introduction.

2. *Nuntiis trans mare missis.*] To the Macedonian legions. xcvi. 4.

3. *De suo jure decidere.*] 'Transigere, pacisci, ut legibus solverentur, et concordiae caussa liceret abesse.' (Schütz.) Antonius himself had proposed this edict in their favour; but irritated by Piso's attack, he had written to them in a threatening tone. The common reading is *decedere*: but the liberators did not propose in any way to waive their rights, unless indeed it was by absenting themselves from Rome.

## Letter XCVIII.

On the 16th July Cicero had sailed from Pompeii. He reached Syracuse on August 1, and after a short stay sailed for Greece. Contrary winds blew him to Leucopetra, not far from Rhegium. Thence he sailed again, but was again driven back to the same port. Here he heard from certain citizens of Rhegium that there were hopes of a reconciliation between the liberators and Antonius, that the senate was to assemble on the 1st of September, and that his own absence was much commented on; and, as Brutus afterwards told him, he was supposed to have gone to amuse himself at the Olympic games. Defending himself against some strictures of Atticus (sect. 2–4), he goes on to describe his meeting with

Brutus at Velia, on the 17th August, at which he found how much suspicion he had incurred by his absence at this crisis.

Brutus and Cicero never again met. Brutus and Cassius very soon left Italy, and proceeded to their provinces, setting entirely at naught the more recent arrangements of the senate.

Cicero wrote this letter while on his voyage back from Velia, within sight of Pompeii, on the 19th August.

1. *Leucopetra.*] Cicero gives a similar account of his voyage in *Phil.* I. iii. 7.

*Austro.*] The Etesian winds; compare 'Quum me Etesiae, quasi boni cives, relinquentem rempublicam prosequi noluerunt.' *Div.* xii. 25; and sect. 5. ad fin. of this letter.

2. *Lectis . . . tuis literis.*] A letter from Atticus had reached Cicero in the Straits of Messina, which was full of sarcastic observations upon his journey, although Atticus had previously approved of it. Atticus told him that such a course was more worthy of an Epicurean than of a Stoic.

*Dummodo Kal. Jan. Romae essem.*] See xcvi. 6.

3. *Qui εὐθανασίαν.*] Atticus seems to have alluded to a passage in the *Tusculan.* I. c. 45: 'Sed profecto mors tum aequissimo animo oppetitur, quum suis se laudibus vita occidens consolari potest.'

*σχόλιον.*] A disputation, such as those of the schools: called afterwards by Cicero an ἀπολογισμός.

*Mutationem consilii.*] Compare xxviii. 21, and note.

4. *Phaedro.*] Atticus had said, 'If an Epicurean, like Phaedrus (xxxii. 2) had done this, he would have had a ready excuse (for the Epicureans held aloof from public affairs); but what can I say in your case?' 'I wish,' says Cicero, 'you had expressed this opinion sooner.' *Catoni*, as a Stoic.

5. *Brutus.*] Atticus insinuated that Brutus disapproved of Cicero's departure, though he did not like to blame him, from regard for his age.

*Reditu . . . reversione.*] *Reditus* would be applied to a return after one's business was accomplished; *reversio*, to a change of plan.

*Pisonem.*] See Introd. to Letter xcvii.

*Celeri reditu.*] Cicero could not convince his friends that he had really intended to return by the 1st of January.

*Sed hoc ἀναπολόγητον.*] But at this public crisis that would have been inexcusable.

6. *Nulla justior.*] 'If I had no other reason,' says Cicero, 'for returning, that would have been sufficient, which you give me in another letter, that I should provide for the payment of my money obligations, now that there is such difficulty in borrowing money (δυσχρηστία).'

7. *A Bruto.*] Given me to read by Brutus.

*Horum contra.*] The manifesto of Brutus and Cassius. Letter xcvii.

8. *Piliam.*] Atticus's wife. *Attica*, their daughter. Compare note on xxi. 7.

## Letter XCIX.

At the time of Caesar's death Q. Cornificius, son of Cornificius, mentioned in Letter i. 1, was governor of Africa, and, although Antonius had wished to supersede him, had been continued in his command by the senate. After the establishment of the Triumvirate, Octavianus sent T.

Sextius to take his place, and, after many contests, Cornificius was at last killed in battle. Cicero now writes on the state of affairs, expressing strong hopes of the young Octavius. The soldiers of the legions had insisted on a reconciliation between Antonius and Octavius; and in obedience to their commands the two leaders had sworn a lasting alliance in the Capitol. But this show of unity did not last long; and at the date of this letter they were so divided that Antonius accused Octavius of having compassed his assassination. Octavius retaliated with a similar charge, and protested his own innocence. The charge against Octavius was generally discredited; though Cicero seems to entertain it. On the 9th of October, Antonius had gone to Brundisium to meet the Macedonian legions, with whom the emissaries of Octavius were tampering. The soldiers clamoured for the punishment of Caesar's murderers, and accused Antonius of dallying with the enemy. Rebuking them for their seditious language, he promised them 400 H.S. a piece, and quarters in Gallia Felix or Cisalpina. A few he put to death. But the legions were corrupted by the promises of Octavius, and Antonius had to increase his largess. He then broke them up into small detachments, and directed them to march and reunite at Ariminum. This letter was written about the middle of October.

Cicero had returned to Rome upon the 31st August. On the following day there had been a meeting of the senate, from which Cicero absented himself; which gave Antonius an opportunity of attacking him. On the 2nd September, Cicero replied in the speech which goes by the name of the *First Philippic*: to which Antonius, after careful preparation, replied on the 19th September. It was in answer to this second speech of Antonius that Cicero wrote, during this and the following month, his *Second Philippic*, which was never delivered, but was published at Rome during November.

1. *Stratorius.*] Probably a legate of Cornificius.

2. *Caesaris Octaviani.*] On these names, see note on lxxxvi. 3.

*Legionibus Macedonicis.*] These were the iv., the ii., the Martia, and the xxxv., of which the iv. and the Martia shortly deserted to Octavianus; the ii. and the xxxv. with the exception of some soldiers, remained with Antony. (See *Phil.* III. ii. 3) We find these legions engaged in the battle of Mutina. Letter cii.

3. *In castris.*] For the whole city was full of soldiers.

*Per aetatem.*] Cornificius was too young to remember better times.

*Canutium.*] He was a tribune, of the party of Octavius. Antony accused him of taking part with Caesar's murderers, who ought not to be allowed to remain in the state.

## Letter C.

Cicero quitted Rome, thinking it unsafe to remain there, about the 22nd of October, and at the beginning of November, writes this letter from Puteoli. Octavius had left Rome about the same time as Antonius, and had visited the colonies of Campania, where, by a donative of 2,000 H.S. a piece, he had collected 10,000 men, of whom 300 were veterans, with whom he approached the city. He sought to gain over Cicero, and through him the senate, and condescended to flatter Cicero

by asking his advice. Cicero, while declining a personal interview, was flattered by the message of Octavius. He anticipates immediate war; and is inclined to go to Rome to occupy his post in the city.

1. *Familia.*] Servi.

*Vide nomen.*] The name of Caesar was in favour of Octavius; his youth against him.

*Clam fieri posse.*] Capua was not a city where such an interview could pass unnoticed.

2. *Alaudarum.*] This was the legion levied in Gallia Cisalpina by Caesar, to which he gave the name of '*Alauda*,' from the Gallic word for the lark, in modern Breton, '*Alc'houéder*.' To this legion Caesar afterwards gave the citizenship. It is frequently mentioned by Cicero in the *Philippics*. See i. 8, v. 5, xi. 18.

*Quas sperat suas esse.*] See note on xcix. 2.

*Congiarium.*] Octavius bid higher for the soldiers than Antony did. See Introduction to xcix.

*Si fidem fecerit.*] If Octavius could gain their confidence, the patriots as well as the lower orders would follow him. As it was, they suspected him as claiming to be the heir of Caesar.

*Quantam εὐκαιρίαν amisisti.*] Brutus had now a noble opportunity of profiting by the quarrel between Octavius and Antony, an event which Cicero had anticipated.

## Letter CI.

On the 9th of December Cicero returned to Rome. Meanwhile Antonius had, upon hearing of the desertion of the fourth and the Martian legions (xcix. 2) on the 28th November, left Rome, and at the head of four veteran legions (afterwards increased to six) marched against Decimus Brutus. The new tribunes convoked the senate on the 20th of December; at which meeting Cicero spoke his *Third Philippic*, and in the forum, immediately afterwards, his *Fourth Philippic*. Of these speeches he speaks in terms of great satisfaction in this letter (sect. 2). On the 1st January 711, the new consuls entered on their office; and on this occasion was delivered the *Fifth Philippic*, directed against the proposal of Calenus, that envoys should be sent to Antonius, and immediately afterwards his *Sixth Philippic*. Notwithstanding, an embassy was sent, consisting of Piso, Philippus, and Sulpicius, to order Antonius to desist from his attack on Mutina; while Hirtius started at once for the Cisalpine. On the 28th of January, the envoys returned, having lost by death one of their number, Servius Sulpicius Rufus, and were received by Cicero with the utmost condemnation, for they brought back with them counter-demands from Antony that the senate should grant lands to his soldiers, should sanction his *acta Caesaris*, condone his expenditure of the public money, and confer on him the province of Transalpine Gaul; in return for which he would abandon his claim to the Cisalpine. Cicero pressed a formal declaration of war, in his *Seventh Philippic* on the same day: and on the 4th and 5th of February, delivered his *Eighth* and *Ninth Philippics*, the latter dwelling especially on the merits of the deceased Sulpicius. This letter was written from Rome, probably early in February. For Trebonius, see Index, and Introduction to xc. and civ.

1. *Reliquiarum.*] I would have had Antonius put to death as well as Caesar. On the Ides of March Trebonius had withdrawn Antonius from the senate, for fear that he might frustrate the plans of the conspirators.

*Antonii . . . discessum.*] For the Cisalpine. See Introduction.

2. *De alia re.*] The senate was called on the 20th December to consult on the security of the new consuls on entering on their office. Cicero alludes here to his *Third* and *Fourth Philippics.* See Introduction.

3. *Consulares partim timides, partim male sentientes.*] Such as Piso and Philippus.

*Servio.*] Servius Sulpicius. See Introduction and Index.

*L. Caesar.*] See xc. 3.

*Caesar.*] Cicero at this time was deceived by Octavius's apparent moderation, and blinded by his opposition to Antonius. See Introduction to Letter c. On Cicero's use of the name of Caesar, see note on lxxxvi. 3. We observe that he uses it more frequently after he begins to have hopes that Octavius will be the leader of the constitutional party.

*Legionesque duae.*] See note on xcix. 2.

## Letter CII.

This letter, written by Servius Sulpicius Galba (ancestor of the emperor Galba), from the camp near Mutina, gives an account of the first battle of Mutina, or Forum Gallorum, fought on April 15th, in which Pansa was mortally wounded. Although fought with varying success, the battle was claimed by the consuls as a decided victory; and the news of their success was received at Rome with immense enthusiasm, and was celebrated by Cicero in his *Fourteenth* and last *Philippic* oration. See a good account of this battle in Merivale's *Romans under the Empire*, cap. xxv. It was followed on the 25th April by the second battle of Mutina, in which Hirtius was slain, Pansa dying about the same time, at Bononia, of wounds received in the first battle.

Galba had been a lieutenant of Caesar, under whom he had conducted the campaign in the Alps (*Bell. Gall.* iii. init.). He was afterwards one of the conspirators against Caesar; and had been legatus of the Martian legion. On the whole, his account of the battle is considered by Merivale more trustworthy than that of Appian, who leans to Antonius throughout. On the legions engaged in this battle, see note on xcix. 2.

Pansa had left Rome at the end of March to join Hirtius and Octavius.

1. *Cohortes praetorias.*] A sort of body guard of the general, who were distinct from the regular legions.

2. *Forum Gallorum.*] Between Mutina and Bononia.

3. *Scuto rejecto.*] To show that he came as a friend, and therefore needed no defence.

5. *Aquilae.*] The *aquila* was, since the second consulship of Marius, (B.C. 104) the standard of the legion. The *signa* were the standards of the cohorts, the *vexilla* of the centuries. But in common language these latter distinctions are not always preserved.

## Letter CIII.

Cicero writes to Brutus, who was now in Macedonia, which was now under C. Antonius, to whom M. Antonius had transferred the province.

Brutus however, on reaching the province, had been received by Hortensius as his legitimate successor. Brutus soon was joined by a respectable force, and at the beginning of this year he compelled C. Antonius to surrender in Apollonia. He showed, however, what Cicero thought undue lenity in sparing the life of Antonius. This letter was written on the 19th April.*

2. *Ciceronis mei.*] The younger Cicero had been made a *tribunus* by Brutus.

3. *Falsas.*] This letter of Brutus was by some supposed to be forged.

5. *Dolabellam.*] Dolabella had left Rome before the end of his consulship, on his way to Syria, marching through Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia Minor, in order to extort money. At Smyrna he surprised and killed C. Trebonius, but shortly afterwards was overtaken by Cassius, and died by the hand of one of his own soldiers. See Introduction to Letter xc. At this time Cicero spoke of Dolabella with great contempt.

## Letter CIV.

Immediately upon reaching Syria, Cassius had prepared to attack Dolabella, and soon collected a numerous army, including four legions which Dolabella had called from Egypt. This letter was written on the 7th of May from his camp in Asia, when Dolabella had just reached Cilicia, having, at the end of February, murdered Trebonius (see Introduction to Letter xc.) at Smyrna.

1. *Legiones.*] See Introduction.

*Si forte mei.*] For the family of Cassius were annoyed with Cicero in consequence of his friendship with Octavius.

*Trebonio.*] Cicero gives a graphic account of his death in *Phil.* xi. 2.

2. *Crudelissimis tyrannis.*] Antonius and Dolabella.

3. *Murci et Crispi.*] L. Murcus and Q. Crispus, who held commands on the Eastern frontier, had placed themselves under the orders of Cassius.

*Bassus.*] Q. Caecilius, an eques. After Pharsalia he had established himself at Tyre, where he had corrupted the troops of Sextus Julius Caesar. His troops now deserted him, and went over to Cassius, who dismissed him uninjured.

5. *Dolabellam.*] See ciii. 5.

## Letter CV.

Plancus relates to Cicero the measures he had taken, and was about to take, against Antony. He had opened communications with Lepidus, and had thrown a bridge over the Isére, with the view of supporting him, for the position of Lepidus was exposed to a sudden attack by Antonius. Meanwhile Antonius had advanced towards Forum Julii. Plancus still hoped that Lepidus would join him in crushing Antony: but, in fact, they were on the point of uniting. Laterensis, by whom Plancus had

---

* The letters to M. Brutus are doubtful. The collection of Schütz omits them, and Merivale (note on Abeken, p. 446) decides against them.

communicated with Antonius, soon after this killed himself on the discovery of the treason of Lepidus. See the further progress of Plancus's career in the Introduction to Letter cxi. This letter was written in May. L. Munatius Plancus had been a legatus of Caesar in Gaul, and during the Civil War; was now governor of Cisalpine Gaul, and had been designated by Caesar as consul for the year 712, the office which he subsequently held.

1. *His literis scriptis.*] From these words it is clear that this letter was an appendix to a former letter written by Plancus (*Div.* x. 11), and probably sent with it.

2. *Fidem mihi dedit.*] Antonius had gained over Lepidus, promising him the first place in their distribution of honours. Lepidus speaks for himself in Letter cvii.

## Letter CVI.

This letter was written from Rome, during the month of May, to Decimus Brutus, who was now commander in Gallia Cisalpina. Immediately after the second battle of Mutina, Antonius had abandoned the siege of that town, and had crossed the Alps. Near Genua he was joined by Ventidius Bassus (xcv. 4), and effected his retreat without interruption. Decimus had allowed two precious days to elapse before he pursued him; and was hampered by his want of cavalry, and of money; so that, before he could act decisively, Antonius had escaped. The soldiers, too, of Octavius, regarded Decimus as their enemy, so that he could obtain no help from them. Cicero informs Brutus that many persons blamed him for slackness in his pursuit of Antony, who might have been crushed if he had been vigorously followed up.

1. *Flacco Volumnio.*] A legatus of Brutus, as were probably also Graeceius and T. Vibius. P. Rutilius Lupus, who had been governor of Achaia under Pompeius in the first Civil War, was also a legatus of Brutus at Mutina.

*Inermis.*] It is doubtful whether the form '*inermus*' is Ciceronian. He certainly used 'imbecillus,' and so 'senatus,' 'eventus.'

*Homines alii facti sunt.*] The opinions of people are changed. They do not all praise you, as they used to do.

## Letter CVII.

Lepidus writes, on the 30th May, to the senate and authorities to excuse himself for having joined Antonius, pretending to have been compelled by his soldiers, and recommending a cessation of hostilities.

1. *Seditione facta.*] Plutarch (*Ant.* xviii.) tells us that Antonius had ventured to approach the lines of Lepidus and address the soldiers; and that the troops of Antonius had urged him to attack their camp, promising to kill Lepidus. They gave up their camp and general to him; and in return for their service, Antonius treated Lepidus with great respect, calling him 'father,' and allowing him to retain the position of an *imperator*. All this, however, was supposed to have been arranged by Lepidus himself.

2. *Privatis offensionibus.*] He is supposed to allude particularly to Cicero's hatred of Antonius.

## Letter CVIII.

P. Lentulus was the son of P. Lentulus Spinther (to whom Cicero addresses many letters; see Index). He had gone to Asia as the quaestor of Trebonius, and after his death had assumed the name of *propraetor,* while retaining his office of quaestor. He describes the course of events in Asia after the death of Trebonius; especially his defence of Asia against Dolabella's fleet, and his negotiations with the Rhodians, who were strongly in favour of Dolabella, and would hardly receive him. At the close of his letter he sends the news that Dolabella, who had seized upon Laodicea, was on the point of being attacked by Cassius. (Introduction to Letter xc.) This letter was written on the 2nd June.

1. *Scelere.*] By his illegal usurpation of the province belonging to Cassius, and by his murder of Trebonius, and capture of Smyrna.

*V. C.*] Vir clarissimus.

*Meum officium.*] The provincial revenues were the special charge of the quaestor. Lentulus was levying war irregularly, in the absence of a superior officer.

2. *Patiscus.*] The proquaestor of Lentulus.

*M. Marcello, Ser. Sulpicio consulibus.*] A.U.C. 703.

4. *Sive potentia paucorum.*] The oligarchical party in Rhodes.

*Viros clarissimos.*] Pompeius, L. Lentulus, and P. Lentulus Spinther, who had been refused access to Rhodes after the battle of Pharsalia.

*Magistratus.*] Lentulus now held two public offices. See Introduction.

*Nullo exemplo.*] A thing totally without precedent.

*Neque vestro.*] Periculo. The danger threatened the senate in part, and also Lentulus himself on the spot, as well as the whole of Italy.

5. *Demorati.*] The magistrates of Rhodes were suspected of having purposely detained Lentulus, to give time to inform Dolabella of his arrival.

6. *Ad meum officium reverti.*] Note on sect. 1.

7. *Pamphyliam.*] To Perga, whence Lentulus sent this letter.

## Letter CIX.

Cicero had not yet heard of the defection of Lepidus, and thinks that with these armies, those of Lepidus, Plancus, and Brutus himself, they ought to be able to effect something. This letter is written on the 6th of June.

2. *Servium.*] A cousin of Brutus.

## Letter CX.

Cicero congratulates Cassius on the rumoured success of his operations against Dolabella, and urges on him the necessity of his and Brutus's return to Italy to carry on the war against Antonius, who, by the treachery of Lepidus, is now again a formidable enemy. Cassius had been, however, too much occupied with his contest with Dolabella to take any measures against the progress of the enemy in Italy, and Brutus, as before, let slip the opportunity. This letter was written at the begin-

ning of July. It was at this time that Octavius began to throw off the mask which he had hitherto worn. About the beginning of this month, he demanded the consulship, which, after some attempts to oppose his demands, was decreed him on the 19th August, and entered upon by him and Q. Pedius on the 22nd of September. This is the last of Cicero's own letters preserved to us. Abeken (p. 470) supposes that some later letters to the various republicans, and perhaps to Octavius himself, may have been destroyed by the partisans of Antonius. The following letter stands alone, and seems to have been accidentally preserved.

1. *Lepidus.*] See Introduction to Letters cv. and cvii.

*Dolabella.*] See civ. 5.

2. *Litteris tuis.*] Letter civ.

*Gesta res.*] The actual capture and defeat of Dolabella.

3. *Consules designatos.*] Decimus Brutus and Plancus.

## Letter CXI.

After the junction of Lepidus and Antonius (Letter cv. Introduction) Plancus recrossed the Isère, and effected a junction with Decimus Brutus. But they were too late to oppose the enemy. At the date of this letter, July 28, he had for nearly two months been expecting aid from Octavius; but now begins to see that Caesar was occupied with designs for his own advancement, although he had cheated him with promises of immediate succour, and he lays on him the whole blame of the escape and subsequent recovery of Antonius. Even now, if Octavius should carry out his promises, and if the legions from Africa should arrive, Italy might be saved.

The further progress of the war may be briefly narrated. After the public entry on his consulship Octavianus (see note on lxxxvi. 3) left Rome with the intention of winning over Antonius and Lepidus. His colleague Q. Pedius proposed and carried a resolution that Antonius and Lepidus should be relieved from the ban of outlawry. It was at this moment that Plancus joined the Caesarian leaders, about the beginning of October, Asinius Pollio having preceded him in this defection. The death of Decimus Brutus followed shortly after.

Plancus himself was consul with Lepidus the following year.

2. *De militum commodis.*] *Commoda* properly applies to the extraordinary rewards, such as donations and assignments of land, given to soldiers above their ordinary pay. Plancus goes on to describe the composition of his army, and that of Brutus, which were numerous, but consisted chiefly of raw levies, no match for the tried troops of Antonius and Octavius.

*Ab omni omnium sollicitatione.*] Antonius was no doubt tampering with the troops of Plancus, as he had before corrupted those of Lepidus. See cvii. 1.

4. *Africanus exercitus.*] These had been summoned by the senate, but as soon as they landed in Italy they went over to Octavius.

*Ad alia consilia.*] Ad consulatum petendum. See sect. 6.

*Furnium.*] See xl. 11; liv. 1. He was now a legatus of Plancus.

5. *Caesaris.*] Octaviani.

*In familiaritate Caesaris.*] C. Julii Caesaris.

6. *Hispaniam.*] Asinius Pollio occupied Spain, and was expected to cooperate against Antonius.

*Consulatus bimestris.*] Plancus speaks generally. He might anticipate some delay in Octavius' suit for the consulship. At present there would be five months to run.

*Insulsa cum efflagitatione.*] Plancus had probably heard of the demand for the consulship made on behalf of Octavius by the four hundred veterans, when the centurion Cornelius, laying his hand on his sword, said 'Hic faciet, si vos non feceritis,' and Cicero replied, 'If this is the way in which he asks it, no doubt he will get it.' Words which Octavianus remembered against Cicero.

7. *Necessarii.*] Especially, Schütz says, L. Marcius Philippus, his step-father (lxxxiv. 1, lxxxvii. 2) and C. Claudius Marcellus, consul in 703 (lxxiv. 6) husband of his sister Octavia, who after his death married Antonius. By her first husband, she was the mother of M. Marcellus the destined heir of Augustus, whose untimely death is lamented by Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 868.

8. *Caesar.*] Plancus had not yet heard of Octavius' approach to Rome with his legions, with the intention of overawing the senate.

For the remaining events of this period see the Chronological Table. Introduction to Division IX. of these letters.

# TABLE OF LETTERS FROM CICERO

## CONTAINED IN THIS VOLUME.



### *From others to Cicero.*



### *Other Letters.*



** The letters to Atticus are given in the 'Index to Letters,' pp. 206–208.

# INDEX.